University of Alberta

The Imagery of Ceres in Representations of Imperial Women in the Julio-Claudian Period

by

Maria Barbara Kozakiewicz ©

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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

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DEDICATION

To Mary, my Mother, and Irek, my husband

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the iconographic assimilations of the Julio-Claudian imperial women to the goddess Demeter/Ceres. The archaeological evidence is given most attention, but the literary, numismatic, and some epigraphic evidence is employed as well. The Roman iconography of Demeter/Ceres is traced from its origins to the late first century AD. The main types of images and attributes of the goddess and their association with the ideology of the Golden Age and Elysium/the Islands of the Blessed are elaborated. The complex iconography of this ideology and its Hellenistic background are also discussed. The use of the iconographic symbols of Demeter/Ceres and the Golden Age/Elysium/the Islands of the Blessed, especially the components of the wreath, the cornucopia and the torch, employed to create the images of the Julio-Claudian imperial women as Demeter/Ceres, is discussed as the assimilations are presented. The results of this investigation are the following: in the early Republican period the Roman iconography of the goddess emphasized her power over grain, especially through the grain-wreath, and her chthonic character through the use of the torch and snake. Interest in mystery religions and religious philosophy under the Late Republic and the Early Imperial period gave rise to a new type of iconography of Demeter/Ceres focusing on her importance of the goddess of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The iconography of the imperial women as Demeter/Ceres, however, does not strictly copy either the old or the new version of the goddess' image. The imagery of the assimilation usually employs a wide range of symbols reflecting the associations of the goddess, as well as the ambiguity of the new iconographic creation, the deified imperial woman. I explain this phenomenon by her complex associations with other deities involved in the propaganda of the return of the Golden

Age, which was popular at the time of Augustus, and contributed to the choice of Demeter/Ceres, starting with Livia, for the assimilation of the Julio-Claudian women.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my deep gratitude to my Supervisor, Dr. Alastair Small, for his never-ending patience, advice, guidance and continuing moral and intellectual support in the preparation of my thesis. I am particularly indebted to him for permitting me to explore the iconography of religious philosophy, an area which only recently has begun to interest modern classicists. I would also like to thank all the members of my committee, especially Dr. Duncan Fishwick, for his invaluable comments on the ruler cult and his faith in my ability to complete what appeared to be a huge undertaking. I am grateful to Dr. Maurizio Gualtieri for agreeing to join my committee at a relatively late date. I am indebted to him for his expert advice on Roman art, his recommendations on recent publications within the field, and also for his warm encouragement. I would also like to thank Dr. John Pedley who has vastly enriched my understanding of south Italian and Sicilian art. Finally, I would also like to thank Dr. Mary Walbank who, at one point was on my committee, for her constructive criticism on the numismatic aspects of my thesis.

My thesis would probably have never been completed without the heartfelt support and unbelievable patience of my closest and extended family. I must also thank my friend and colleague Isabelle Donald, who gave me her time and help—and it was always needed.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AK	*Antike Kunst*
Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*	Alföldi, A. "From the *Aion Plutonios* of the Ptolemies to the *Saeculum Frugiferum* of the Roman Emperors", in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory: Studies presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. K. H. Kinzl. Berlin and New York, 1977.
Altmann	Altmann, W. *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*. Berlin, 1905.
Bianchi	Bianchi, U. *The Greek Mysteries*. (Iconography of Religions 17.3). Leiden, 1976.
Blech	Blech, M. *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*. Berlin and New York, 1982.
BMC	*Catalogue of Greek Coins (Lesbos, Lydia, Sicily, Macedonia, Mysia)*. British Museum. Dept. of Coins and Medals.London, 1876.
CNR	*Corpus Numorum Romanorum*. Florence, 1972-79.
Cumont, *Afterlife*	Cumont, F. *Afterlife in Roman Paganism*. New York, 1959.
Fishwick	Fishwick, D. F. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*. Leiden, New York, Copenhagen and Cologne, 1987.
Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*	Fraser, P. M. *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*. Oxford, 1977.
Garnsey	Garnsey, P. *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis*. Cambridge, 1988.
Gross, *Iulia Augusta*	Gross, W. H. "Iulia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie." *Abhandlung der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 52 (1962).
Kleiner	Kleiner, D. E. E. *Roman Sculpture*. New Haven, 1992.

Langlotz	Langlotz, E. *Ancient Greek Sculpture in South Italy and Sicily*. New York, 1965.
Le Bonniec, *Culte*	Le Bonniec, H. *La Culte de Ceres a Rome*. Paris, 1958.
LIMC	Kahil, L. , *et al. Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Vol. 4.1. Zurich and Munich, 1981, pp. 844–908.
Megow	Megow, W.-R. *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus*. Berlin, 1987.
RPC	Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and P. P. Ripollès. *Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*. Vol. 1, Pt. 1–2. London, 1992–.
RRC	Crawford, M. H. *Roman Republican Coinage*. London, 1974.
RIC	Sutherland, C. H. V. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. 1. London, 1984.
Vollkommer	Vollkommer, R. *Heracles in the Art of Classical Greece*. Oxford, 1988.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most interesting aspects of the ruler cult as expressed in the iconography was a tendency to represent the emperors and empresses as commonly worshipped gods and goddesses. In this thesis I examine closely the iconography of Demeter/Ceres and its use in representations of Julio-Claudian women.

I have followed two lines of previous scholarship: one on the cult and iconography of Demeter/Ceres and the other on the ruler cult and representations of the imperial women as goddesses. The goddess Demeter/Ceres has a rich bibliography. Early scholarship concentrated mainly on the complex religious and historical aspects of the cult of this goddess, or rather these goddesses, since Demeter dominated the Hellenic world while Ceres was an ancient Italic fertility divinity. As the influence of Greek culture increased in Rome, Ceres became Demeter's Roman counterpart. Demeter, the Hellenic goddess, has attracted the most attention because of the great popularity of her cult, and especially because of her role in the Eleusinian Mysteries. A comprehensive study of Demeter in Farnell's *Cults,*[1] vol. 3, is still invaluable although it includes only a small section on the iconography of the goddess. Mylonas' *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*[2] is fundamental for the archaeology and iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries. *The Eleusinian Gods and Heroes* by Grossman[3] begins a series of iconographical studies on Demeter and various mythological figures associated with her. To these belong *Triptolemos* by Gerda Schwartz[4] and *Iconography of Greek Mysteries* by U. Bianchi.[5] The fourth volume of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1988) brought together L. Beschi's[6] study on the iconography of Demeter and S. De Angeli's study[7] on the iconography of Demeter/Ceres.

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[1] L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1896-1909).

[2] Princeton, 1961.

[3] B. Greenfield Grossman, *The Eleusinian Gods and Heroes in Greek Art*, Diss. Washington, 1959 (University Microfilms, 1984).

The many earlier studies devoted to various aspects of the cult of the Roman Ceres include G. Wissowa's *Ceres*[8] and the work on this divinity in Daremberg-Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*.[9] The Italic origins of Ceres, her affiliation with Tellus, and with Liber and Libera, and relations between Ceres and the Hellenic Demeter are discussed in great detail by Henri Le Bonniec in his exhaustive study, *Le Culte de Cérès a Rome des origines à la fin de la République*.[10] More recent major publications on Ceres are mostly studies in religious ideology. Sabatucci's article *Transcendenza di Ceres*[11] focused on the changing role of Ceres as a goddess of fertility who becomes the protectress of the Roman *plebs*. Some changes in the perception of the goddess, who under the Empire becomes less a goddess of the city and the *plebs* and is increasingly associated with the country and women, have been discussed by I. Chirassi-Columbo in "Funzioni politiche ed implicazioni culturali nell'ideologia religiosa di Ceres nell'impero romano."[12] B. S. Spaeth in her dissertation *The Goddess Ceres; A Study in Roman Religious Ideology*[13] has explored the goddess' association with order/law and women. Spaeth included non-literary evidence in her argument and noted the main instances of the representation of imperial women as Demeter/Ceres. Neither in her dissertation, however, nor in her recent book,[14] which was published in 1996 when my thesis had already taken its final shape, did she notice any difference between the iconography of the goddess and the iconography of the imperial women represented as Demeter/Ceres. In her book *The Roman Goddess Ceres* Spaeth lists many of these representations in an Appendix (2), in a catalogue intended to be representative rather than comprehensive. Spaeth's article in *AJA*[15] on Ceres as the goddess on the famous "Pax" panel of the Ara Pacis has been useful in clarifying the little noticed connection between Demeter/Ceres and the ideology of the Golden Age. Accepting this concept, I proceed to trace the iconographic evidence for the Hellenistic and early imperial associations between Ceres and Apollo, the chief deity of the Golden Age, and between the Golden Age and Elysium; and I demonstrate the impact of these ideas and images on the ruler cult under the Julio-Claudians. Among the publications which influenced my argument on the Golden Age/Elysium was J. Toynbee's *Death and Burial in the Roman World.*[16] Some evidence of the association between Ceres and Apollo has been acknowledged by Castriota, who examines the polysemantic iconography of the Ara Pacis in a recent book on this altar.[17] Castriota, however, looks for associations between Pax and Apollo in searching for a possible predecessor and model for the Ara Pacis which he finds in the supposed altar of Eirene in the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamum, and I do not follow him in reinterpreting the very obvious imagery of Demeter on this altar.

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[4] G. Schwartz, *Triptolemos. Ikonographie einer Agrar-und Mysteriengottheit*, Gräzer Beitrage Sup. 2 (Graz, 1987).

[5] Iconography of Religions 17.3 (Leiden, 1976).

[6] L. Beschi, *LIMC*, vol. 4.1, s.v. "Demeter," pp. 844-892.

[7] *LIMC*, vol. 4.1, pp. 893-908.

[8] *R.E.*, s.v. "Ceres," 1970-79.

[9] C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, eds. *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, 1877; reprint: Graz, 1969).

[10] *Etudes et Commentaires* 27 (Paris, 1958).

[11] *Ex orbe religionum. Numen* Sup. 21-22 (Leiden, 1972), pp. 312-19.

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[12] *ANRW* 2.17.1 (Berlin, 1981) pp. 403-28.

[13] The Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore, 1987).

[14] B. S. Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Texas, 1996).

[15] B. S. Spaeth, "The Goddess in the Ara Pacis Augustae and the Carthage Relief," *AJA* 98 (1994) pp. 65-100.

The complex religious and historical background of the ruler cult as well as previous scholarship on the subject have been exhaustively discussed by D. Fishwick in his comprehensive work, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West,*[18] especially vol. I. The theme of the representations of non-imperial Roman women and men as gods and goddesses has been studied by Werde[19] who noticed that the earliest representations of ordinary women as Ceres come from the eighties of the first century AD.

T. Mikocki,[20] the author of a post-doctoral dissertation on the representations of the Roman empresses as goddesses, listed numerous representations of the imperial ladies as Demeter/Ceres and noticed the high frequency and importance of this type of representation. According to Mikocki, Livia and the other empresses were motivated in their choice of imagery by the wide popularity of Ceres/Demeter in the Graeco-Roman world, her power over grain, her attractive maternal role, and the occasional interest of certain emperors in the Eleusinian Mysteries. Generally, this line of argument has been dominant in the scholarship from the time of Farnell on.

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[16] New York, 1971.

[17] D. Castriota, *The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Imagery of Abundance in the Later Greek and Roman Imperial Art* (Princeton, 1995). Castriota argues that the fragments of an altar from the precinct of Demeter's temple at Pergamum belonged to an altar of Eirene. The panels are decorated with vegetal scrolls, and a torch with two poppies and two ears of grain growing out of it.

[18] Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, Köln, 1987.

[19] H. Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum: Vergöttliche Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz, 1981).

[20] *Sub Specie Deae* (Warsaw, 1988).

In this dissertation I examine the relationship between the iconography of the goddess and the iconography of the Julio-Claudian imperial women represented as Demeter/Ceres. I give the most attention to the art-historical monuments, but the literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence is employed as well. I outline the Roman iconography of Demeter/Ceres and I (tentatively) reconstruct the imagery of the early Republican cult statue of the goddess in her temple on the Aventine. I discuss the main iconographic types of the goddess, and I establish the typology of her two most relevant attributes, the torch and the grain-wreath. In the case of the latter, I develop a new typology which I use to support my argument on the sources of this form of imagery. I define the association of Ceres with the interlocking ideology of the Golden Age and its divinities, and of Elysium/the Islands of the Blessed. My principal contribution to the subject, however, is my discussion of the ideology underlying this complex iconography and its Hellenistic background and the use of the iconographic symbols of Demeter/Ceres and of the Golden Age/Elysium/Islands of the Blessed to create images of the Julio-Claudian imperial women as Demeter/Ceres.

After defining the traditional iconography of Ceres and the eclectic iconography of the imperial women, I attempt to answer three questions. (1) Why was the imagery of Demeter/Ceres chosen as a primary source for representations of the imperial women under the Julio-Claudians? (2) Why does the iconography of the imperial women represented as Demeter/Ceres differ from the traditional iconography of the goddess? (3) Why were ordinary women not represented as Demeter/Ceres while the Julio-Claudian dynasty lasted?

The first of these questions has been in large part answered by Mikocki, Spaeth and others. My contribution lies in the suggestion that Demeter/Ceres was probably seen as the patroness of deified mortals, including Heracles, Triptolemos or Dionysos, her initiates who prefigure the deified emperor.

As regards the second question, I argue that in the Early Empire the traditional representation of Ceres was inadequate for expressing the ideology of her cult with its complex associations. In particular it did not sufficiently convey the idea of the return of the Golden Age, one of the main elements of Augustan propaganda; nor did it reflect the concept of the deification (formal or informal) of the female members of the imperial family. I identify the wide range of plants added to the traditional grain ears of Ceres, and I explain their symbolism; I discuss other attributes, the cornucopia and the beaded fillet, which I argue (against received opinion) were not traditional in her imagery, but which came to be associated with Demeter/Ceres only in the context of the imperial women. The result is a polysemantic imagery such as one finds in the representation of the seated female (Pax/Ceres/Italia?) on the Ara Pacis.

The third question is the most difficult, and can only be partly answered in the present stage of this research. I argue that the dynasty monopolized this imagery, precisely because of its associations with the Golden Age/Elysium, for representations of the imperial women. With the extinction of the dynasty, this imagery was adopted by ordinary women for funeral art which implies a change in perception of the goddess who loses her connection with the Golden Age, and returns to her original role as a chthonic goddess, patroness of the dead.

This thesis, therefore, makes a significant contribution to our perception of the role of Demeter/Ceres imagery in the ideology of the ruler cult in its visual manifestation.

CHAPTER ONE

CERES - GODDESS OF GRAIN

The Roman iconography of Ceres/Demeter developed in two stages. In the first, from the fifth through the third century BC, her imagery drew heavily on South Italian and Sicilian sources. In the second, which corresponds to the Roman expansion towards Greece and the Hellenistic East, there was a marked influence from the main art centres of the Hellenistic world.

The Early Republican Cult Statue

The first image of Ceres in Rome is likely to have been the cult statue which must have been placed in the ancient temple on the Aventine Hill, traditionally founded by king Servius in the sixth century BC.[21] We have no certain evidence for it, but it is probable that like other early cult statues it was in terracotta (like the statue of Apollo at Veii or of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, which were the work of the Etruscan artist, Vulca),[22] or wood, like the statue of Juno Regina on the Aventine.[23] If in wood, it may have been acrolithic, with a head of marble or terracotta inserted in a wooden (or limestone) body. A number of heads survive that may have been made for acrolithic statues. One of these is an over lifesize marble head,[24] now in the holdings of the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome. The head can be dated stylistically to ca. 480 BC. It was probably found in Rome but was produced in one of the Greek cities of South Italy or Sicily, most probably Metapontum, a known centre of the cult of Demeter, where a fragment of a another head, arguably from the same workshop, was found. The height of the head from Rome, 83 cm, points to the above lifesize proportions of the statue.

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[21] H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London, 1981) p. 174.

[22] Le Bonniec, *Culte*, p. 262.

[23] Pliny, *HN* 27 and 37.11-15. The statue was made of cypress wood.

[24] Langlotz, p. 269, no. 62, 63 (Comparanda 3-C and 4-C). Langlotz does not identify the goddess.

The other examples of colossal *terracotta* heads of Demeter include one in Zurich (cat. no. 4-fig.) and two in New York, all from the second half of the second century BC.[25] Colossal statues were not uncommon in the fifth century BC as well as much later.[26] All three heads seem to belong to the same Latin atelier.

Since the iconography of the Roman Ceres was taken directly from her Greek counterpart,[27] and the roughly contemporary cult statues of Demeter from South Italy and Sicily usually show her enthroned, I assume that Ceres was also represented seated in her cult statue in the Aventine temple.[28]

Two Late Republican coins may show her statue on the Aventine. These are a denarius of 56 BC struck by C. Memmius in commemoration of the first *Ludi Cereales*

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[25] Cf. H. Gysel, "Der Cereskopf im Zurichen Kunsthaus," *Antike Kunst* 17 (1974) 109-114.

[26] Pliny *HN* 34.43, informs us that colossal statues of the gods were often made in Rome. He cites the case of the statue of Jupiter on Capitoline, the thanksgiving *votum* of the consul Spurius Carvilius, made after the victory over the Samnites in 293 BC. The size of the figure was so great that it was visible from the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban hill, 10 miles southeast of Rome.

[27] Le Bonniec, *Culte*, p. 253.

[28] The seated posture was normal in cult statues of Demeter in the other areas of the Greek world, as in the Demeter of Knidos (*LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 138) or the Demeter [or Persephone] at Lycosura. See R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London, 1991) p. 240. On all Greek votive reliefs where the worshippers were present Demeter was represented seated (see Comparanda 23-C, the Ninion tablet). The Arician Ceres was represented enthroned as well (see cat. no. 1).

(cat. no. 19-fig.), and an aureus of 42 BC struck by Mussidius Longus during the second triumvirate (cat. no. 23-fig.).[29] The coin of C. Memmius has the head of Quirinus on the obverse and the seated Ceres on the reverse. The representation is unusual in two ways. First, it is the only full-figure representation of a seated Ceres on a Republican coin. Other coins show her walking (cat. no. 20-fig.) or in a biga of snakes (cat. no. 14-fig.). On the coin of Memmius, the goddess, dressed in a very long chiton worn over an undergarment draped in numerous vertical narrow folds sits on a backless chair with ornamented legs. She is shown wreathed, holding a medium length torch, probably of the ornamental type[30] in her left hand and three very long wheat ears in her right. A snake is rising before her, facing right. Another unusual feature is the coiffure of the goddess. Except for an aureus of Mussidius Longus (soon to be discussed) all other Roman coins with representations of the head of Ceres show her either with the *nodus* coiffure or with her hair tied at the back and one or two long strands of hair falling down the neck. On the coin of Memmius, however, Ceres has long and thick hair, combed behind the ears without any loose strands in front, typical of the late archaic or early classical severe style. The impression of the thickness of hair is created by the large volume of long strands of hair, curled and combed together to form a wavy, dense mass. It is significant that a different issue of C. Memmius with the head of Ceres on the obverse (cat. no. 18-fig.), struck in the same mint and year,[31] depicts the goddess with an entirely different, contemporary coiffure: her hair is gathered at the back into an uneven bun tied with a fillet, and she has a number of short locks hanging freely on the side of her face. It is obvious that the die cutter used a different model for each issue, and that he did so on purpose. It was a common practice to give the image of a goddess a contemporary coiffure and any departure from this practice must have some explanation.[32] The *Cerialia* coin commemorated the first *Ludi Cereales*. The die cutter, therefore, chose to represent the ancient cult statue on the reverse. He also put Quirinus on the obverse to emphasize the *antiquitas* of the cult since Quirinus was usually identified with Romulus and was an ancient god himself.[33] If the most important political message of this coin was an appeal to the Roman plebs, as Le Bonniec believes,[34] the choice of the most venerated statue of the plebeian goddess Ceres in Rome would serve this purpose. The familiar ancient statue emphasized the *antiquitas* of the plebeian cult on the Aventine and its rich history in the struggle for political equality, while the inscription, commemorating the first *Ludi Cereales*, recalled the time of the customary socializing of the plebeian families.

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[29] *RRC*, no. 494/44a.

[30] See torches, p. 49.

[31] *RRC*, no. 427/1.

There may have existed, however, a different level of understanding of the association between Quirinus/Romulus and Demeter/Ceres. The goddess was the protectress of those who through their virtues, and initiation into her mysteries, became gods. Romulus was a hero named among such deified initiates of Demeter as

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[32] Other goddesses, such as Flora (*RRC*, 423/1), Diana (*RRC*, 394/1e) or Juno Moneta (*RRC*, no. 396/1b), shown on coins of the same period are depicted with hair pulled into a nodus at the back. The nodus may vary in shape but it is obvious that the long haired coiffure was not in contemporary fashion.

[33] I disagree with Crawford, *RRC*, p. 451, that since "the head on the obverse of 2 is explicitly identified as that of Quirinus" it therefore "seems self-evident that the type is irrelevant to the assimilation of Quirinus and Romulus."

[34] Le Bonniec, *Culte*, p. 378.

Heracles, the Dioscouroi, Asclepios and the Orphic Dionysos.[35] The head of the same long-haired Ceres was chosen for a series of aurei struck in 42 BC by the otherwise unknown moneyer Mussidius Longus (cat. no. 23-fig.). The obverses of these aurei show the head of the goddess while the reverse was decorated with a wreath of wheat ears. Depending on the issue, the head of Ceres is either wreathed with wheat ears of type 1,[36] or diademed.[37] It is important to note that while the head is wreathed with the early type of wreath, borrowed from Sicily and no longer in use, the wreath on the reverse is contemporary (type 2a).[38] I believe that the head, with its distinctive ancient coiffure, never found on any other coin representation of Ceres, belongs to the seated statue represented on the earlier coin of Memmius. The coin types were always chosen with special care for gold issues. In this case the intention of the moneyer was to venerate[39] Ceres, and so he selected the best known and the most ancient statue of the goddess. The hairstyle dates the head to ca. the fifth century BC and closely resembles the coiffure of the colossal marble head of a goddess mentioned above,[40] which probably comes from Rome, and can be dated to ca. 480

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[35] See below, p. 60, for Heracles on the Lovatelli Urn.

[36] *RRC*, 494/44a. For the description of the type, see p. 22.

[37] *RRC*, 494/46.

[38] See p. 24.

[39] Crawford, *RRC*, p. 511, believes that this is one of the types borrowed by Mussidius from his colleague C. Vibius Pansa, for whom Ceres would be the family type. I believe that the coin represents Demeter/Ceres, the divinity associated with the Golden Age and immortality in general, as a counterpart of Apollo who was also represented in the same issue of the aurei. Another explanation could be that the occasion for the revival of the ancient Ceres types was the initiation of Mark Antony into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 42 BC. For the date see K. Clinton, "Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors: 2nd Century BC to AD 267," *ANRW* II (1972) 18.2 p. 1506.

[40] See above, p. 8.

BC.[41] Comparison of the head on the coin of Mussidus with the colossal marble head reveals many similarities: the long, wavy thick hair falling down the back of the neck, the exposed ear, the thick layer of small curls above the forehead (which in the case of the coin head wearing the wreath is quite prominent), and the characteristic circular treatment of the hair at the back of the head. Even the facial features, especially the long, rather pointed nose, are similar. The same type of coiffure is found on other fifth century representations, such as a terracotta head of a goddess from Agrigentum,[42] with long, curled, finely chiselled and centrally parted hair which leaves the ears exposed, and on a seated woman (almost certainly Demeter) on a terracotta relief from Locri dated to ca. 460-450 BC.[43]

If the marble head belonged to the statue of Ceres from the temple on Aventine, then the statue was acrolithic, consisting of the marble head and a body made of wood or limestone. The head was not attached with a dowel (since there is no trace of such in the smooth surface of the base of the neck), but was set in a cavity in the body of the statue. The body of the goddess on the coin of Memmius is visibly inclined backward, while the head is inclined forward. There is no trace of such a deviation on other seated images depicted on contemporary coins, such as the seated Victory on the coin of M. Cato[44], and it is not found on fifth century representations of seated goddesses which were not acrolithic, such as the enthroned goddess from

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[41] Langlotz, no. 62 (see Comparanda 3-4-C).

[42] Langlotz, pl. 8, p. 245. Langlotz believes the style is east Ionian and that the pedimental sculpture from Vulci reflects the same stylistic prototype.

[43] Now in Reggio (Langlotz, no. 71); see Comparanda 2-C.

[44] *RRC*, 462/1b.

Tarentum dated to ca. 460 BC.[45] Langlotz maintains that a forward inclination of the head was a characteristic of acrolithic statues,[46] for the balance between the heavy marble head and the lighter, possibly wooden, body into which it was inserted was maintained by inclining the body backward and the head forward. The height of the statue compared to that of the temple may also have been a factor. With the head measuring 83 cm, the seated statue was ca. 4.40 m in height. Since Tuscan temples were comparatively low, the statue's head probably reached the ceiling. In any case the full effect of the benevolent smile of the goddess, as Langlotz rightly observes,[47] can be achieved only with the head slightly inclined forward. But although the statue represented on the coin dates from the fifth century BC, the attributes of Ceres shown with it had changed, or else were adjusted for the coin representation. The type of torch is roughly contemporary with the coin, for ornamental torches of this kind date back to the second century BC in the Hellenistic world and to the first century BC in the Roman Republic.[48]

The original headdress was probably the diadem or polos. The diadem is shown on a head of the statue of (presumably) Ceres from Grammichele dated to 480 BC,[49] and recurs in the representation of Ceres on the issue of Mussidius Longus of 42 BC.

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[45] Langlotz, no. 50.

[46] Langlotz, note 62 and 63, p. 269, says "We do not understand why such acrolithic heads were not fixed by dowelling nor why, when they were placed in their original position (probably with the slight forward inclination) they were made to stand on a slope with the consequent instability and danger of sliding off." Could the heads also be attached to some kind of support behind them (the wall) or above them (ceiling)?

[47] Langlotz, p. 269.

[48] For the torch see. p. 49.

[49] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 149 (see Comparanda 1-C).

The broad smooth band encircling the marble head in Rome—right above the rows of curls—may have been designed as a space for the diadem or a wreath made of precious metal. It did not have to be attached to the head, merely put on it. It is not unlikely that the headdress was changed, depending on the occasion. The marble head has also been fitted with small rivet holes which Langlotz supposes served for fixing a cloak of material or bronze. Thus the statue could have been veiled as well as diademed or wreathed.

Ceres and the Grain Supply

Roman contacts with Sicily, so fruitful culturally, were certainly more frequent in times of occasional grain shortages. As early as 492 BC during a famine, *Dimissi passim ad frumentum emendum non in Etruria modo dextris ab Ostia litoribus laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum in Sicilia quoque.*[50] In good weather it was possible to reach Sicily after only three or four days' sailing. In 491 BC (two years after the dedication of the temple of Ceres on the Aventine) a large quantity of grain arrived from Sicily as a free gift from Gelon.[51] A gift of grain[52] was a sign of kinship, and a recognition of a bond between two cities.[53] In the centuries which followed Rome often imported grain from Sicily. The importance of Sicily as a grain-producing region was one of the reasons why Rome came into conflict with Carthage.

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[50] Livy 2.43.

[51] Dion. Hal. 7.1.6.

[52] For the ancient custom of gifts of corn between the cities of Greece and also in the Near East, see M. Frederiksen, *Campania* (London, 1984) p. 166.

[53] For example, Hieron I of Syracuse sent free grain to Corinth, the mother city of Syracuse.

Annexation of the island in 211 BC marked the beginning of the great Roman expansion which led eventually to the empire.

The issue of grain was never underestimated in Rome. It was well known that whoever controlled the grain supplies for the *Urbs* was also able to exert political pressure on the Senate. In 486 BC Spurius Cassius proposed that the price of grain be subsidized, and died for it. In 131 BC a delegation of *decemviri sacris faciundis* was sent by the Senate to Henna on the advice of the Sibylline Books[54] to propitiate Demeter/Ceres for the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, an advocate of agrarian reforms. In 123 BC Gaius Gracchus[55] introduced for the first time a regular large-scale distribution of grain, sold at a fixed, low price to the citizens of Rome. He was assassinated soon afterwards. Eventually the system of subsidies, periodically abandoned and always reintroduced, became a fact of life in the last century of the Republic, and a necessity under the Principate. At the closing of the Republic *the plebs frumentaria* became a political force and food riots were used by various parties for their political advantage.[56]

The political significance of the problem of the grain supply was revealed by an edict[57] passed by the Senate in April 43 BC. According to this regulation, meant to prevent the emergence of one-man rule in Rome, a single person could not be in charge of the whole grain supply. Nevertheless, in 22 BC, at a time of acute shortage at Rome, Augustus bowed to public pressure and accepted responsibility for the grain supply,[58] which he could well afford to do as the owner of large estates in Egypt and of the treasury of the Ptolemies. By the end of the first century BC the free distribution of grain, on top of the grain sold at a normal price, reached enormous proportions with 320,000 recipients a month receiving 1 *modius* of grain (ca. 7 kg) each. Even when this number was reduced to 200,000 by Augustus in 2 BC it took an impressive logistical effort to secure the quantity needed. Under Augustus there were food riots in 22 BC, in 5 AD,[59] in 6 AD,[60] and again in 9 AD. Tiberius had to deal with only one food shortage, in 19 AD,[61] although the price of grain was sharply criticized in 32 AD.[62] Claudius was pelted with bread crumbs by the hungry mob in 51 AD,[63] and at the time of Nero a severe shortage was caused by the sinking of 200 grain-ships outside the port of Ostia in 62 AD.

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[54] Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.49, and 108.

[55] Garnsey, p. 182.

[56] The riots of early thirties were particularly violent and were ruthlessly pacified. In one demonstration Octavian was nearly stoned to death (Cass. Dio 48.31).

[57] G. E. Rickman, "The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire," *Memoirs of the American Academy of Rome* (1980) pp. 27ff.

Considering the importance of the grain supply and frequent shortages of grain it is not surprising that the dominant image of Demeter/Ceres under the Republic and Empire is the grain-rich Ceres of the type which I call *Spicifera.*

Ceres *Spicifera* and the Significance of her Attributes

Grain had always been the gift of Demeter, the symbol of the goddess herself.

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[58] Suet. *Tib.* 48.

[59] Cass. Dio 55.26, 1-3.

[60] Cass. Dio 55.26.1 and 27.1 ff. says that in fear of public discontent Augustus formed "vigiles," seven divisions of freedmen to deal with city fires, and the mobs "in times of scarcity."

[61] Tac. *Ann.* 2.87.

[62] Tac. *Ann.* 6.13.

[63] Suet. *Claud.* 18.

Hesiod always refers to Demeter's grain,[64] or Demeter's holy grain. The Romans considered bread to be the food of civilized men, and so Ceres *Legifera* was the goddess of civilization, who presided over the most honourable occupation, farming. Ovid[65] confirms that the women celebrating the annual *sacrum anniversarium Cereris* offered the goddess the first sheaves of grain: *primitias frugum dant spicea serta suarum.* The fertility of Demeter's plant was emphasized and even exaggerated. Pliny[66] lauded wheat, the most prolific plant ever, and maintained that a single modius of wheat could yield 150 modii. He recalled how Augustus received a shipment of almost 400 shoots grown out of a single grain on the Byzacium plain in North Africa. According to Pliny[67] the most fertile areas were around Leontini and Sicily in general, the whole of Baetic Spain, and especially Egypt.

Ceres enjoyed special respect as an inventress of the most honorable occupation of the Roman citizen, agriculture. The Romans, living in the war-torn first century BC, looked back on the half-legendary past with nostalgic longing. Cicero,[68] in his discussion on which profession is worthy for a well-born and well-polished man, states outright that of all occupations agriculture is the most profitable, most delightful and most becoming to a free man. Cato[69] agrees with this idea: *(Maiores)*

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[64] Hes. *Op.* 32.

[65] *Met.* 10.431-36.

[66] *HN* 18.21.

[67] *HN* 18.21.

[68] *Off.* 1.150-1: *Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agri cultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius.*

[69] *Agr.* 1.1, trans. W. D. Hooper, rev. H. B. Ash (1934) "When our ancestors would praise a worthy man their praise took this form: 'good husbandman', 'good farmer'; one so praised was thought to have received the greatest commendation."

Et virum bonum laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Amplissime laudari existimabatur qui ita laudabatur. Varro complains that in his times (ca. 37 BC) the traditional agricultural basis of society and morals had disintegrated due to political and social changes,[70] and praises the noblest occupation of all—farming:[71] *non modo est ars (agriculture), sed etiam necessaria ac magna; eaque est scientia, quae sint in quoque agro serenda ac facienda, quo terra maximos perpetuo reddat fructus.* He also believed that those who cultivate the earth (Ceres) were the only survivors of the Saturnian reign, the blessed men of the Golden Age.

The greatest gift of Ceres was bread, which was considered to be the healthiest food and the nourishment of civilized men as opposed to the diet of acorns - the symbol of prehistoric, uncivilized times, or meat, fit for animals and barbarians.[72] There are many references to bread in the elder Pliny who emphasized its importance and its healing properties, and who even maintained that the grain-eating animals were more intelligent than others.[73]

Grain-ears are the primary attributes of Demeter/Ceres, and a means by which the goddess was recognized at first glance. In iconography they take two essential forms: the wreath and the bunch held in the hand. The wreath of Demeter/Ceres is always made of grain-ears alone and no addition was allowed until post-Julio-Claudian times. The bunch in Greek art sometimes contained one or two poppy heads, but under the Roman Republic it is consistently of grain-ears alone. There are a very few instances of the composite bunch with poppy and ears of grain under the early Principate.

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[70] *Re Rust.* 2.1: *Viri magni nostri maiores non sine causa praeponebant Romanos urbanis. Ut ruri enim qui in villa vivunt ignaviores quam qui in agro versantur in aliquo opere faciendo, sic qui in oppido sederent, quam qui rura colerent, desidiosiores putabant.*

[71] *Re Rust.* 1.3, trans. W. D. Hooper (1967): "In the first place, it is not only an art but an important and noble art. It is, as well a science, which teaches what crops are to be planted in each kind of soil, and what operations are to be carried on, in order that the land may regularly produce the largest crops."

[72] F. Dupont, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1992) p. 125, relates the negative reaction of Julius Caesar's soldiers who refused to eat meat once the grain (*frumentum*) ran out.

[73] *HN* 22.57.119.

The Wreath

Ovid describes Ceres as fair-haired (*flava*) with her fine hair wreathed with wheat ears: *flava Ceres tenues spicis redimita capillos*.[74] In myth when Zeus/Jove agreed to release Persephone from Hades, Demeter rejoiced and set a wreath of wheat ears in her hair: *imposuitque suae spicea serta comae*.[75] A wreath of wheat with inverted ears seen in a dream was interpreted by the Romans of imperial times as a portent of coming famine, and, therefore, was associated with Demeter/Ceres even in popular superstition.[76] In Greek art the wreath of grain-ears appears first on the head of Demeter as early as 530 BC on a black figure amphora from Locri.[77]

Until the Hellenistic age the wreath of wheat ears was less popular in the official iconography of Demeter/Ceres. In Classical art, especially sculpture, the goddess often wore other types of headdresses, usually the polos,[78] or a diadem, either of which might be combined with a veil. The goddess could also be shown bare headed, possibly as a token of her mourning after Persephone was abducted. Ovid, for example, says *ibi toto nubila vultu/ ante Iovem passis stetit invidiosa capillis.*[79] Demeter is bare-headed both on the Grand Relief of Eleusis[80] and in her cult statue from Knidos.[81]

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[74] Ov. *Am.* 3.10.3.

[75] *Fast.* 4.589-615.

[76] According to Tac. *Ann.* 4.1-5, Messalina had a dream in which Claudius was wearing a wreath of inverted ears or a wreath of withered vine leaves. One was interpreted as the threat of a grain shortage, the other as Claudius' death in the autumn. The interpretation in the first case assumes that the emperor symbolized the state and its fate.

[77] A fragmentary Attic amphora with a representation of a woman wreathed with ears of corn. See M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin, 1982) 256ff., and *LIMC* s.v., "Demeter," no. 387.

During the Hellenistic period wreaths became popular as headdresses for gods and mortals alike, possibly under the influence of Ptolemaic Egypt, as Thompson believes.[82] The very popularity of wreaths and the increased interest in symbolism of various flowers and plants in the Hellenistic Age is certainly behind the large number of images of Demeter (and Ceres as well) which show the goddess wreathed with grain-ears from the fourth century on. To this large group belongs Demeter shown wearing a wreath on a pelike dated to 350 BC.[83] The wreath encircles her head, with four prominent ears of grain protruding in all directions. On the obverses of Greek silver coins of the fourth century BC, the goddess always wears a wreath of grain-ears. She may be veiled, with the back part of the wreath hidden under the veil.[84] The Sicilian type of grain-ear wreath has a long stalk with long, narrow spikes and one, or sometimes two or three grain-ears entwined.[85] The wreath of grain-ears, treated as a symbol of Demeter and not crowning her head, appears in Roman coinage first on a denarius of the moneyer D. Iunius Brutus Albinus in 48BC (with the head of A. Postumius on the obverse).[86] It also appears on the reverse of the aureus of Mussidius Longus of 42 BC (cat. no. 23-fig.) which has the head of Ceres on the obverse.

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[78] In the sixth and especially the beginning of the fifth century (Langlotz no. 18, 19).

[79] *Met.* 5.510-511.

[80] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 385 (see Comparanda 27-C).

[81] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 138 (see Comparanda 28-C).

[82] D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford, 1973) pp. 37 and 71.

[83] Bianchi, p. 17, no. 4. Demeter is seated on a hamper, wearing a wreath of ears-of-corn, and holding a sceptre. She is in the company of Ploutos who holds a cornucopia, Persephone, holding two torches, Iacchos and Dionysos who holds a thyrsus.

Two distinct types of grain wreaths gradually developed, which I call Type 1 and Type 2. I also distinguish two subtypes of Type 2, which I have named Type 2a or "Pergamene" type, and Type 2b or "Eleusinian type" on account of the best known examples of their occurrence, on the altar of Eumenes II and on the relief decoration of the Lesser Propylaea at Eleusis.

Type 1 belongs to late Classical and early Hellenistic times. This type of wreath has grain stalks with long and curved leaf blades. The grain-ears end in a triangular top formed by long hair-like spikes of irregular length. The wreath contains two (silver stater of Messenia, 369-338 BC,[87] Delphic Amphictyony,

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[84] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," nos. 165 and 168 (see Comparanda 9-C and 8-C).

[85] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 186 (see Comparanda 7-C).

[86] *RRC*, no. 450/3b. Crawford (*RRC*, p. 466) says "that there is no convincing candidate to whom to assign the portrait on 3b," and he states that "the wreath of corn ears in any case is perhaps intended to allude to action over the corn supply." It seems quite obvious to me that A. Postumius is the same as the dictator Aulus Postumius who vowed the temple to Ceres, Dionysius and Kore during the famine before the Battle of Lake Regillus in 496 BC (Dion. Hal. 6.17.2-4, and 94.3) and that the coin commemorated the official recognition of the cult of Ceres at Rome.

[87] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 183 (see Comparanda 10-C).

363-334 BC,[88] or Byzantium 250-220 BC[89]) or six (Sicily: silver stater of Metapontum 320-300 BC[90]) single, narrow ears of wheat with grains faintly outlined and long hair-thin spikes growing between the individual grains and shown alongside the ear. The bowshaped ears are turned up or down and have long (grass-like), curved leaf blades growing out of the same stem. In this type of wreath the blades/leaves are long and distinct and play the role typical of leaves in any other wreath, for instance the laurel leaves set between laurel berries or ivy leaves between grape clusters. Very often these leaf blades are bigger and longer than the ear of grain itself. This type of plant looks like the two-row emmer wheat. The wreath of grain-ears represented in this naturalistic way appears on the majority of representations of the head of Ceres on Republican coins.[91] The aureus of Mussidius Longus[92] (cat. no. 23-fig.) with the unusual long-haired archaic head of Ceres, which I believe belonged to the Aventine cult statue, shows Ceres wearing the Sicilian type of wreath with six long ears of grain and four blades curved upwards from the stem. I believe the old type of wreath was used here purposefully to emphasize the antiquity of the statue. The wreath of grain-ears shown on the reverse of the same coin consists of grain-ears of a different type which are described below.

The type 2 wreath appears in the second half of the second century in art from the Hellenistic East, and on Roman coins from about the beginning of the first century BC. The main features of the new type are its lack of leaves/blades and the full emphasis on the wealth of heavy, plastic grain-ears which are often shown more symbolically than naturalistically. The wreath consists of ears of grain only. An ear may be almost rectangular in shape because it is topped with a bunch of hair-like spikes, or "beard," which grows unrealistically from the top row of grains and is trimmed to exactly the same length. I call this the Pergamene type, or Type 2a (see Comparanda 35-C and cat. nos. 9, 13, 18, 29, 71, and 86). It may also have a more triangular/spiky top. Some ears consist of grains alone and may have no bunch of thin spikes at all. I call this the Eleusinian type, or Type 2b. The individual grains are large and very distinct in every case. The representation is contrary to nature but it exposes the grains and emphasizes their number. This grain-rich wreath is shown for the first time on a coin of L. Cassius Caeicianus dated to 102 BC[93] (cat. no. 9-fig.), with the head of Ceres. The wreath consists of eight long ears of grain without any blades/leaves. Each ear is attached individually to the long stalk of the frontal grain-ear which shows above the brow. The grain-ear above the brow is almost horizontal, and the remaining large grain-ears protrude upwards in gradually increasing angles with the ear at the back of the hair in a nearly vertical position. The same type of wreath without leaf blades is on a coin of L. Furius Brocchus of 63 BC[94] (cat. no. 17-fig.) on which Ceres is represented wearing a wreath which consists of six ears of grain (with spikes outlined) of uneven length pointing upwards at an increasing angle. The wreath on a denarius of C. Memmius[95] with only four horizontal ears of grain above the brow (two parallel on each side) has no blades/leaves either. On a denarius of Julius Caesar of 46 BC of uncertain mint (cat. no. 21-fig.), but probably African, Ceres has a wreath of four (or two) small grain-ears attached almost vertically to the fillet above the brow. This too has no blades/leaves. Demeter/Ceres on an early Augustan Campanian plaque (cat. no. 41-fig.) has an almost identical wreath of four flat and large vertical grain-ears (two of them damaged) set directly above the forehead in the manner in which the wreath of Isis was later shown. The head of Ceres in Zurich (cat. no. 4-fig.) has a Type 2b crown of broad grain-ears arranged in two rows of four on each side of the partition of the hairdress, with three twin ears lower down. Two long ears were inserted vertically above the partition—one is now missing. The long, distinct ears consist of grains alone without any hair-like spikes on top. The same type of grain-ear is represented in the large bunch on the entablature from the Lesser Propylaea in Eleusis, made in the 50s BC (Comparanda 26-C).[96]

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[88] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 165 (see Comparanda 9-C).

[89] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 168 (see Comparanda 8-C).

[90] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 186 (see Comparanda 7-C).

[91] *RRC*, no. 82/1, pl.15 (probably with six ears - very worn coin), a semis of Sicily?, dated to 211-209 BC; *RRC*, no. 97/23, pl. 18 (six ears), a sextans of Luceria dated 211-208); *RRC*, no. 351/1, a denarius of L. Critonius and M. Fannius, the plebeian aediles, in the year 86 BC (six ears).

[92] *RRC*, no. 494a, no. 44, pl. 60.

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[93] *RRC*, no. 321, pl. 42.

[94] *RRC*, no. 414/1, pl. 51.

The Type 2a wreath of grain-ears of nearly rectangular shape with the bushy top of hair-thin spikes (bearded grain-ears) appears for the first time in the first half of the second century BC on the cylindrical altar of Eumenes II in Pergamon.[97] It recurs on a denarius of 47–46 BC struck in Africa,[98] and has an ear of grain in front of the bust of the personification of Africa. It is repeated on some cistophori of

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[95] *RRC*, no. 427/1, pl. 51, no. 22.

[96] G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961) fig. no. 57.

[97] P. Wolters, "Gestalt und Sinn in der antiker Kunst," *Die Antike* 6 (1930) p. 292, fig. 5.

[98] *RRC*, no. 461/1, pl. 5.

Augustus first struck in Pergamon, then in Ephesus.[99] This type of grain-ear wreath appears on a head of Livia in the Hermitage[100] wearing the beaded fillet (cat. no. 71-fig.), and in the wreath worn by a portrait bust of Augustus as Triptolemos[101] wearing such a grain wreath. Most of the grain-ears in the representations of the imperial women as Demeter/Ceres are of this Pergamene type (Type 2a).

The number of ears in the wreath ranges from two to six or more. The early Hellenistic/Sicilian wreath and the early Republican wreath usually have six ears, while the Greek wreaths of late Republican and Imperial date have two, four, eight or more. The six ears of grain, however, are set vertically in the diadem of the second or first century seal showing Mystic Demeter/Ceres (cat. no. 5-fig.) and, with poppies and palmettes, in the diadem of Livia in the Capitoline museum (cat. no. 67-fig.). The bunch of the Pergamene type on Augustan cistophori also has six grain-ears).[102] Since South Italy was an area where the Pythagoreans, who believed in the mystic value of numbers, had been particularly active, and Pergamon may have come in contact with Pythagorean mysticism during the peak cultural activity of the Pergamene Library when the literary and philosophical documents were being gathered and copied, about the mid-second century BC, the number of the ears in the wreath of Demeter/Ceres was probably not accidental.[103]

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[99] C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Cistophori of Augustus* (London, 1970) p. 104. They were struck between 27 BC and 26 BC in Pergamon and in 25 BC and 24/20 BC in Ephesus.

[100] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter/Ceres," no. 186.

[101] Vatican Museum, no. 715 (Comparanda 42-C).

[102] See n. 99 above and Comparanda nos. 48-C and 49-C.

[103] See p. 48 on the *Mystic* Ceres and the number six as the number generating soul.

Grain-Ear/Wreath in Golden Age/Elysian Imagery

The creation of the Type 2a and Type 2b images of the grain-ear is, I believe, related to the rise of the Golden Age/Elysian imagery between the end of the third century and the middle of the second century BC.[104] The fruit and leaf swags on Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial altars, including funerary altars, combined fruits and often grain-ears growing out of season. I believe that the intent was to emphasize the extraordinary abundance of the coming Golden Age, which was believed to suspend natural laws, as well as Elysium where the deified dead enjoyed similar abundance.[105] As I said above, the earliest example of the grain-ears of Type 2a—the ears which are almost rectangular in shape—comes from Pergamon,[106] as do the earliest examples of fully developed, naturalistic fruit-leaf swags, which were preceded by rare fourth century BC leaf and flower garlands on Attic red-figure vases.[107] The literary sources, especially Athenaios,[108] seem to suggest the Egyptian provenance of the style.

Significance of the Number of Grain-Ears

The grain-ears in the wreath, and especially those held in the hand, have a double significance. First, fertility and the blessing of the grain-goddess who gives growth to wheat, barley and other grain-bearing plants; and second, the rebirth of her initiates after death. While the former idea is obvious and undisputed, the latter is less so, like everything which touches the spiritual side of human life. The grain-ear, however, may have been the object shown to the *mystai* during the Eleusinian Mysteries.[109] There is evidence that, in Syracuse, the golden ears of grain were buried in graves with the dead, in the same way as golden replicas of olive sprigs with berries were also placed in graves.[110] The olive, an evergreen which in myth originated in the country of the Hyperboreans, is mentioned by Plutarch and Callimachus as a plant used in burials in the Peloponnesus,[111] and probably symbolized immortality. The symbolism of the grain-ear, in a funeral context especially, must have been similar. It is possible that the grain-ear, which would disintegrate to be reborn in a multiplied form, symbolized immortality through transmigration of the soul, culminating in Elysium. This Orphic/Pythagorean concept was very much alive in first century BC Rome.[112] Wheat was sown on fresh graves in Greece and the dead were called *demetrioi*.[113] The Attic painted stele of Lyseas shows the dead man holding up to his face six ears of grain which have the same shape as the grains on the Lesser Propylaea.[114]

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[104] For Hellenistic concepts of the Golden Age, see Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*.

[105] See below, pp. 70ff.

[106] Wolters, (1930) p. 292, fig 5.

[107] Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, pp. 26-27, nos. 133ff.

[108] *Deipnosophistae* 197c, in Politt (1966) pp. 36ff.

In Greek vase painting grain ears appear more often in scenes of the Mission of Triptolemos than in those of the Mysteries. Demeter and Triptolemos were often represented holding ears of grain in one hand. The number of the grain-ears varied, but three are most common.[115] The number is likely to be significant, because even grain-ears decorating the calathos of the caryatid on the Lesser Propylaea are arranged in bunches of three (see cat. no. 25-fig.) (though the early Imperial Mystic Ceres with torch (cat. no. 39-fig.) holds only two).[116] In Early Imperial art, especially on wall paintings, the goddess is often represented surrounded by grain stalks, whether worn in a wreath, or held in a bunch in her hand, or set in a calathos which she holds (cat. no. 36-fig.) or which stands beside her (cat. no. 34-fig.).

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[109] Farnell, *Cults*, vol. 3, p. 183.

[110] Wolters (1930) p. 285 and p. 292, fig. 5.

[111] See Appendix 1.

[112] E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London, 1985) p. 292.

[113] Farnell, *Cults*, vol. 3, p. 64.

[114] Wolters (1930) p. 298, fig. 9.

Gods Associated with Demeter in Vegetal Fertility

Ceres/Demeter as the goddess of vegetal fertility was associated in art and myth with two divinities: Triptolemos and Dionysos. Both play a significant role in the Augustan Golden Age propaganda, and each has his own chthonic associations.

Demeter with Triptolemos. Triptolemos is important for this study since Augustus, Claudius and Nero were all assimilated to him.[117] His myth emphasized the most benevolent side of Demeter, that of the teacher of agriculture to mankind. The literary sources are plentiful: Sophocles, *Triptolemos*, Callimachus, *Hymn to Ceres*

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[115] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," nos. 218, 348, 355, 363. Three was an auspicious number and seems to have been involved both in Pythagorean philosophy and in common magic as well, as attested in Verg. *Ecl.* 8.73: *terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore/ licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum/ effigiem duco; numero deus impare gaudet.*

[116] See also *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter/Ceres," no. 48.

[117] See cameo dated to 41-51 AD, now in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles, with Claudius as Triptolemos and Messalina (or Agrippina) as Ceres, in a winged snake-chariot, and the onyx vase from Mantua, dated to 54 AD with Nero/Triptolemos as a driver of the winged snake-chariot with Agrippina Minor as Ceres, accompanied by Tellus, Priapus, Dea Syria and Aphrodite, also possibly the constellation Virgo. See Schwartz, p. 59, nos. G 2 and G 4 (cat. no. 118).

22, Apollodoros 1.5.2, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.450-563, and the *Fasti* 4.614, to mention just a few. The Mission of Triptolemos was a favourite story with the vase painters as early as the Archaic period (ca. 540-510 BC).[118] It was also known very early in Southern Italy, Sicily and Etruria. The motif appears on vases from Locri of 540-530 BC, from Vulci, dated to 525 BC, and from Gela, of 490 BC.

Triptolemos is mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* as one of the noblemen of Eleusis, not as Demeter's grain-messenger, as he became known later.[119] His identity changed over the centuries. In Plato's *Apology*[120] he is one of the judges of the dead, beside Minos, Rhadamanthos and Aiakos.[121] To Apollodoros he was an elder son of Metaneira and a brother of Demophoön.[122] In this version of the myth Demophoon perished in the fire and Demeter adopted Triptolemos, to whom she gives her snake-chariot and the role of the grain messenger. Ovid describes the cave (in which Ceres keeps her steeds—the serpents) as "not to be approached by man or beast". In the serpent-driven chariot she "roamed, unwetted, over the ocean waves."[123] Ovid says that Triptolemos is Demeter's adopted child whom she cured of sickness.[124] Hyginus replaced Celeus and Metaneira with another couple, Eleusis and his wife Cothonea, whose child Triptolemos Demeter attempts to immortalize. The father Eleusis spies on Demeter at night and is killed by the goddess who nevertheless continues her education of Triptolemos. But in the *Fasti*[125] Ovid presented Triptolemos as the sick child of Metaneira, miraculously cured by Demeter, and then nearly immortalized. Demophoon is not mentioned. Triptolemos absorbed his myth, and in this version became an adopted son of Demeter.

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[118] See Mylonas (1961) p. 197; G. Schwartz (1987) p. 27 - amphora from Locri.

[119] The explanation of this story's absence from the myth can be simple. The author chose to focus completely on the story of the great goddesses and possibly took for granted his public's knowledge of the popular story of Triptolemos.

[120] *Ap.* 41a.

[121] This idea was accepted by Cicero in *Tusc.* 1.41.98.

[122] Apollod. 1.5.1.

[123] *Fast.* 4.494ff.

[124] *Fast.* 4.512.

To Pausanias[126] who noted a temple to Triptolemos at Eleusis, Triptolemos was a god. It seems that over time Triptolemos grew in importance, from local nobleman, to adopted son of the great goddess, to a god. As such he was almost the male equivalent of Demeter herself since he participated in her agricultural and chthonic functions. Triptolemos was known to the Etruscans, but did not become popular at Rome until the beginning of the Empire. An outstanding initiate of Demeter like Augustus could be identified with Triptolemos easily. Augustus was assimilated to him in both poetry[127] and art,[128] and Claudius was portrayed as Triptolemos riding with Agrippina in a snake-chariot.[129] Scenes of the Mission of Triptolemos decorated some Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth century BC,[130] and were also shown on votive reliefs at Eleusis. In Classical times Triptolemos was usually portrayed as a young man, unbearded, although in the Archaic period he had a beard, sitting in a chariot driven by winged serpents,[131] or in a chariot with wings alone, with no snakes, as on the Lakrateides relief in the Eleusis Museum, dated to 100-90 BC.[132] The chariot on the Lakrateides relief looks more like a flying throne. There is no surviving example of Triptolemos sharing the chariot with any other divinity. The commonest attributes of the hero are long ears of grain held in the hand - three, five or seven in number, and/or a sceptre. He can be semi-nude (heroic nudity) or completely clothed. He often wears fillets in his hair, and a wreath of laurel or, less commonly, of grain-ears;[133] only rarely of myrtle[134] which, being a plant used in purification rites, was used for wreaths by the initiates to the Mysteries, and was carried by them at Eleusis. The late Hellenistic depiction of Triptolemos on the Tazza Farnese (Comparanda 22-C) shows him bareheaded and without a chariot, carrying a pouch with seeds and a yoke. On the silver patera from Aquilea (Comparanda 21-C) of the same period he has a pouch with seeds and a plough. The seed pouch and the agricultural implements are new elements in the iconography of the god who until then was normally given mature ears of grain, grown by Ceres. Through this change the artists may have emphasized his active participation as *Frugifer* in the Mission of Ceres, and the fact that the seed was Demeter's but the toil was his. The seed, hidden in the pouch, may also have allowed a more allegorical interpretation of the Mission.

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[125] *Fast.* 4.550ff.

[126] 1.38.

[127] Verg. *G.* 1.24-28.

[128] Statue of Augustus wearing the grain-ear wreath, Spaeth (1994); Comparanda 42-C.

[129] See p. 150.

[130] In eight instances noted by Schwartz (1987) p. 34.

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[131] As on a marble relief from Eleusis, dated as a type to the fourth century BC, Bianchi, p. 22, no. 26.

[132] Bianchi, p. 21, no. 23.

[133] Pelike of the Painter of Triptolemos in Copenhagen; Schwartz (1987) pl. 9, V. 54.

[134] As on skyphos no. A10 in the Musée Royaux in Brussels or the skyphos of the Marsyas Painter, Schwartz (1987) pl. 31, V. 135.

In Tibullus[135] Triptolemos is identified with Osiris/Frugifer: *Primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris/Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum/ Primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae/Pomaqe non notis legit ab arboribus;/ Hic docuit teneram palis adiungere vitem;/ Hic viridem dura caedere falce comam.* As Frugifer and son of Demeter, Triptolemos is also involved in the iconography of the Golden Age.[136]

The early imperial representations of Triptolemos include two wall paintings in Pompeii, in the Casa del Fornaio (cat. no. 31) and the Casa di Trittolemo (cat. no. 32), a stucco relief in the Underground Basilica near Porta Maggiore (cat. no. 47) and three cameos in which either Nero or Claudius is assimilated to him (cat. no. 116 fig., no. 117, and cat. no. 118-fig.).

According to Xenophon,[137] Triptolemos initiated the first foreigners, Heracles and the Dioscouroi, who were very popular in Rome, especially Heracles, under the name of Hercules, the archetype of a mortal who wins his immortality through virtue and labour.[138]

Demeter/Ceres Associated with Dionysos/Liber. The representations of Demeter among the gods and heroes for the most part reflect her associations with them in myth or ritual. Dionysos is probably an exception to the rule since nothing in myth suggests a joint worship of Dionysos and the goddesses in Eleusis. Iconography, however, begins to reflect the association of Dionysos with Demeter and Persephone from the fourth century BC on, when Dionysos appears in some scenes depicting the Eleusinian gods, in a very obvious Mystery context.[139] He may have been assimilated to Iacchos, the daimon of the *pompe* or procession of the *mystai* from Athens to Eleusis at the time of the Greater Mysteries.[140] The Goddesses and Dionysos were worshipped together in the Peloponnesus as well. Pausanias found statues of Dionysos, Demeter and Kore in a sacred grove near Sicyon,[141] in Telphusa, Arcadia,[142] and in the sacred grove of the Chthonic Demeter in Lerna.[143] I believe that the Dionysos shown in the context of the Mysteries was understood as Zagreos of the Orphic myth, a son of Persephone by Zeus. This myth was particularly popular in South Italy and Sicily, and was also current in Campania in Roman times, and was known to Cicero. Several monuments which originated in Magna Graecia and Sicily[144] attest to some form of Dionysos' participation in Demeter's mysteries and often contain iconographic elements which have no explanation in the myth as far as we know it. An omphalos, usually associated with Apollo, appears in several cases. Some iconographic inconsistencies may have originated in the sacred books of the itinerant Dionysiac priests[145] and possibly reflect the Orphic concept of Dionysos as the son of Persephone and co-habitant with Apollo at Delphi. On a pelike in the Hermitage Museum[146] the god of wine is seated, nude, ivy-wreathed and holding a thyrsus. The composition of the scene with Dionysos and Triptolemos (in his winged chair) in the right upper level, Heracles and Iacchos in the left, Persephone holding two torches, Rhea/Ge seated on an omphalos (?) lower down, and Demeter, seated in the centre, creates the distinct impression that Dionysos belongs to the group of Eleusis-related gods.

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[135] 1.7.29ff.

[136] A. Alföldi, "*Redeunt Saturnia Regna*, VII: Frugifer - Triptolemos im ptolemaisch-römischen Herrscherkult." *Chiron* 9 (1979) pp. 553-607.

[137] *Hell.* 6.3.

[138] See p. 60 for the importance of Heracles on the Lovatelli urn.

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[139] In those cases he is nude or semi-nude, or dressed in an oriental type of a highly decorative, long tunic, a wine wreath on his head and thyrsus in hand.

[140] The recent discovery of a lead tablet inscribed with repetitions of a word *Bachioe* at Athens, in a well situated along the Panathenaic Way, not far from the Stoa Poikile may support this idea. The tablet was found in the context of fourth century BC votive offerings, probably belonging to the orthostate shrine nearby, now identified as Leokorion but most probably belonging to Demeter and Kore. Ululations of *Iacche* during the Eleusinian procession have been attested by Herodotus. *Bacchiae* could have been a version of such ululation. for discussion see D. R. Jordan, "Ululations from a well beside the Panathenaic Way," *AJA* 86, p. 212.

[141] Paus. 2.11.3.

[142] Paus. 8.25.3.

[143] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 453.

[144] *LIMC* lists ten representations of Dionysos and Demeter in one scene (nos. 452-454) and three literary sources with references to statuary groups with both divinities in various sanctuaries: a) in Lerna (Demeter, Prosymna and Dionysos) no. 453; b) Telphusa in Arcadia (the colossal group of Demeter, Kore and Dionysos - Paus. 8.25.3) no. 454; and c) near Sikyon

On a hydria of the fourth century BC from Capua,[147] Dionysos is centrally situated: Demeter, crowned, is seated on a wicker hamper and holds a sceptre tipped with lilies; Persephone, wearing a laurel wreath and holding two torches stands between Dionysus and her mother and seems to be handing her torches over to Dionysos who, robed and bearing a thyrsus, is seated on what seems to be an omphalos. Both goddesses are turned towards him.[148] On a fourth century BC bas-

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and Philios (Dionysos, Demeter, Kore - Paus. 2.11.3).

[145] For discussion on the *Hieros logos* in the Bacchic mysteries, see W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, MA, 1987) p. 70.

[146] Bianchi, nos. 1 and 2.

[147] Bianchi, no. 6, p. 18; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 400, p. 877.

[148] The type of a robed Dionysus seems to signify a chthonic god. See the chthonic Dionysos, ivy-wreathed, bearded, long-robed, holding a cornucopia and accompanied by satyrs on a lead sheet (1.8 meters long and 0.40 m. wide) from the necropolis of Montagna di Marzo in Sicily in Holloway (1991) p. 65 ff. The author says, "the iconography is Athenian, derived from the Dionysiac rituals of the festival of the Anestheria." A practically identical scene is preserved

relief from Mondragone,[149] Dionysos stands behind Zeus, attired in a short eastern tunic and high boots. On a fifth century BC votive tablet from Locri Epizephyrii, the nude Dionysos, holding his cantharos and a long vine with a bunch of grapes, stands facing Persephone and Hades,[150] both enthroned.

The Roman cult of Ceres took over the concept of the association of the divinities by grouping Dionysos/Liber, Libera and Ceres together in a triad of which very little iconography is left. Three votive statues of the divinities are known from Livy to have been set up by the praetors Acilius Glabrio and Caius Laelius in 197 BC.[151] The only extant representation of Liber and Libera together can be found on a coin of L. Cassius Q. f. struck in 78 BC in Rome with the bust of Liber, wearing an ivy wreath, and with a thyrsus over the shoulder on the obverse, and the head of Libera wearing a vine-wreath on the reverse. Demeter/Ceres was associated with Dionysus/Liber on coins of the 1st century BC. This tendency was foreshadowed by a coin of Henna of 258 BC[152] which shows Demeter Nikephoros on the obverse and a bunch of grapes on the reverse. Most associations, however, date to the 1st century BC: a) a denarius of 90 BC struck by Q. Titius has Silenus on the obverse and Ceres on the reverse (cat. no. 10-fig.); b) a denarius struck in 78 BC has the head of Liber on the obverse and Ceres in a biga of snakes on the reverse (cat. no. 14-fig.); c) a

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on an Attic black-figure vase and on a second black-figure vase, which is either of Athenian or western Greek production. If it were not for his ivy-wreath and the satyrs, he could be taken for Ploutos.

[149] Bianchi, no. 25, p. 22.

[150] I believe that the male seated by the side of Persephone is Zeus Chthonios/Hades.

[151] Livy 33.25.2-3.

[152] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 37.

denarius of 48 BC shows the head of Liber on the obverse, and on the reverse Ceres walking, holding torches in her hands (cat. no. 20-fig.). The theme recurs in the Principate. Dionysus appears by the side of Demeter on the Lovatelli urn of the 1st century AD,[153] and on the second century AD sarcophagus from Terranova.[154] Another example of the direct association of Demeter/Ceres with Liber/Bacchus (and Hercules) is a marble three-headed herm from Fiesole (in a private collection in Berlin) dated to the middle of the first century AD (cat. no. 27).

Dionysiac imagery in association with Demeter/Ceres is exemplified by a Campanian plaque with the head of Demeter surrounded by a scroll of ivy and acanthus leaves (cat. no. 28-fig.). The most obvious symbols of Dionysos, the ivy/grape and the acanthus, are also combined with ears of grain in countless leaf-and-fruit swags and garlands as well as in cornucopiae.[155] In the understanding of a Roman farmer Ceres was probably credited with any vegetation growth, not only that of grain. Cato advised the sacrifice of *a porca praecidanea* to Ceres before harvesting not only wheat or barley but also spelt, beans and rape seed.[156] In Horace, Ceres is the goddess of nourishment in general and also the giver of wine. Ofellus, a peasant farmer from Sabinum, describes his feast with a friend/neighbour. It includes a kid or a pullet, and Ceres provides the wine.[157] Varro invokes Demeter/Ceres and

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[153] Bianchi, no. 47, p. 28.

[154] Bianchi, no. 47.

[155] see p. 119.

[156] Cato *Agr.* 134.1

[157] Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.115ff., "By and by raisins and nuts and split figs would be our dessert. Then we would make a game of drinking, with a forfeit to rule the feast, and Ceres, to whom we made our prayer, would smooth out with wine the worries of a wrinkled brow." Trans. Loeb.

Dionysus/Liber together: *Cererem et Liberum (invocabo), quod horum fructus maxime necessari ad victum; ab his enim cibus et potio venit e fundo.*[158] Vergil, in the first book of the *Georgics*, invokes both gods as cosmic powers *Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus/ Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista/ poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis.*[159]

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[158] Varro *Rust.* 1.1.6, tr. W.D. Hooper (1967).

[159] *G.* 1.7—8, "O, Liber and bounteous Ceres, if by your grace earth changed Chaonia's acorn for the rich corn-ear, and blended draughts of Acheolus with the new-found grapes." Trans. W. D. Hooper, Loeb (1967). If taken together with the preceding lines (5-6) - *vos, o clarissima mundi/ lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum (Liber et alma Ceres)*, etc., the two deities are shown as cosmic powers. Trans. Loeb. Not a new idea. Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter*, believes that whoever offends Demeter, offends Dionysus as well.

CHAPTER TWO

CERES - GODDESS OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

The Influence of the Eleusinian Mysteries

The Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis became popular among the Roman nobility during the last century of the Republic. Religious philosophy associated with initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries changed the perception of Demeter/Ceres among the Romans. The goddess became less the patron divinity of the plebs and more the goddess of the intellectual aristocracy. Among the best known Roman initiates were Sulla, Cicero, who was probably initiated in 79 BC, and his two friends, Atticus and T. Pinarius, Ap. Claudius Pulcher and his two nephews, Pulcher Claudius and Rex Marcius, the general L. Munacius Plancus and his nephew M. Titius, who was *consul suffectus* in 31 BC. The two great contestants for the Roman empire were also initiates: Antony (in 42 BC) and Octavian (in 31 BC).[160] To this number should be added, perhaps, Roman students such as Marcus Tullius, the son of Cicero, or young Horace, as well as the Roman boys whose names sometimes appear among the *ephebeia* of Athens,[161] but in most cases the initiations have left very little or no trace. Although such concrete evidence of initiation as dedicatory inscriptions at Eleusis or in the literary sources is not frequent, one can assume that many more prominent Romans of both sexes, along with their freedmen and sometimes even slaves, were initiated into the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, especially during the second half of the first century BC and in the first century AD. There are several indications of such a possibility. Appius Claudius Pulcher would probably not have constructed such a costly monument as the Lesser Propylaea in Eleusis if the place was not frequented by his compatriots of high social standing among whom the glory of the family name would be perpetuated. The fact that the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the Propylaea was in Latin, and that the goddess was named Ceres, suggests increasing Roman influences there. The use of Latin is the more surprising, since one of the chief prerequisites to participation in the Mysteries was fluent knowledge of the Greek language.

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[160] On the Romans initiated see Clinton (1972) pp. 1499-1507.

[161] Rawson (1985) p. 12.

The initiation of Sempronia L. f. Arratina, wife of L. Gellius Publicola, consul of 36 BC, was commemorated with a statue. Other women who may well have been initiated include Octavia and Livia. Octavia went to Athens at least twice, once with Antony, in the winter of 39 BC[162] and once in the summer of 35 BC,[163] when she arrived with provisions and clothing for his army and waited for him to join her there. Livia was certainly in Greece in 40 BC, when she fled there with her husband Tiberius Claudius Nero and their two-year old son, Tiberius, after the fall of Perusia.[164] She also accompanied Augustus on his eastern tour of Sparta and Athens in 29 BC.[165] An inscribed altar base at Eleusis[166] with the names of

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[162] Plut. *Ant.* 33. Of course the couple arrived in Greece before winter gales made sailing impossible. While Antony was campaigning against the Parthians Octavia may have stayed in Greece, because Plutarch says (*Ant.* 35) that Octavia accompanied Antony from Greece in the spring of 37 BC. In the *Moralia* (245 and 257) Plutarch says that Octavia was in Athens in May 37 BC.

[163] Plut. *Ant.* 53.

[164] Dio Cass. 54.

[165] R. Bauman, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome* (London and New York, 1992) p. 125. If Augustus' last tour of Italy in 14 AD (Suet. *Aug.* 99) may serve as an example of how those peaceful imperial journeys were arranged, Livia must have accompanied her husband on most of them. Her presence at Nola is treated by Dio (56.30 and 31) quite naturally. It would not

Augustus and Livia may prove that both of them were initiated, not only Augustus himself. Antonia, the daughter of Octavia may have visited Athens either on the way to her estates in Egypt,[167] which she inherited from Mark Antony,[168] or with Germanicus in 17 AD. The travels of Agrippina Major are better documented, especially her long journey at the side of Germanicus in 18 and 19 AD. She covered impressive distances and visited many places: Nicopolis, Actium, Patrae, Athens, Euboea, Lesbos, where she bore Julia Livilla, then along the Euxine Sea down to Sinope, followed by several cities in Asia Minor. Next she visited Rhodes, Armenia, Syria with Palmyra and Antioch, Nabatea, and finally Alexandria.[169] It is not improbable that she too stopped at Eleusis long enough to be initiated. Two Julio-Claudian rulers, Augustus and Claudius, showed such great interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries that it was recorded by the historians. It is significant that both of these emperors also celebrated the *ludi saeculares* and each was officially deified, with his wife appointed the *flaminica* of the husband's cult. Each of them was also represented in art as Triptolemos (Comparanda 42-C; cat. nos. 117 and 118). Augustus was also assimilated to Triptolemos in poetry.[170]

Augustus was initiated twice, the first time in 31 BC, after Actium and before

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have been recorded by the historian were it not for the death of Augustus.

[166] E. Vanderpool, "Three inscriptions from Eleusis," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 23 (1968) pp. 7-9.

[167] Dio Cass. 51.15.

[168] N. Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta* (London, 1992), p. 000.

[169] Tac. *Ann.* 2.49-55.

[170] see p. 74ff.

his expedition to Egypt. He received the highest degree of initiation in 19 BC.[171] It is possible[172] that the second initiation was connected with the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC, and the official introduction of the Augustan *aurea aetas*. At some unspecified time during his rule he was visited by priests from Eleusis.[173] Claudius, who was also initiated[174] wanted to transfer the Mysteries to Rome[175] and repeated the *ludi saeculares* even though less than half a century had passed since the Augustan ones. He was not the first to contemplate moving the Mysteries, for Ptolemy Soter had attempted to transfer them to his capital, Alexandria and may even have done so.[176] By moving the Mysteries to Alexandria Ptolemy would have given greater force to the prophecy of the return of the Golden Age, which originated in that city, and was central to the propaganda of his régime. The matter is outside the scope of this thesis and needs much more investigation; but the parallel suggests that there is likely to have been a similar relation between Claudius' interest in moving the Mysteries and his celebration of the "ludi saeculares".

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[171] Dio Cass. 5.4.1 and 54.9.10.

[172] For the view of Demeter governing Virgo and her iconographic associations with Apollo, see pp. 70ff.

[173] Suet. *Aug*. 93.

[174] It would be pointless for him to transfer the Mysteries to Rome if he had no idea about them. The Mysteries were probably so popular that refusal to participate in them was unusual. Nero is reported to have avoided the Mysteries (Suet. *Ner*. 34).

[175] Suet. *Claud*. 18 and 20.

[176] Tac. *Hist*. 4.83, "*Ptolemaeus . . . Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum quem ut antistitem caerimoniarum Eleusine exciverat, quaenam illa superstitio, quod numen, interrogat*." On Eleusis near Alexandria see Livy 45.12, "*ad Eleusinem, qui locus quattuor milia ab Alexandrea abest*." P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972) p. 200ff. The theory which maintains that the transfer of the Eleusinian Mysteries to Alexandria took place is based on information regarding the institution of the cult of Serapis in Egypt. It was on that occasion that Ptolemy Soter invited Timotheus from the Eleusinian priestly family of the Eumolpids to Alexandria. Fraser rejects the theory of the transfer while A. Alföldi supports it (in "Redeunt Saturnia regna," *Chiron* 9 (1979) pp. 554-58). Since some form of the mysteries of Demeter in Alexandria is attested by Callimachus in the *Hymn to Demeter* and a sanctuary of the goddess was situated in Eleusis at Alexandria, I prefer Alföldi's theory.

It is possible that the festival was a form of sympathetic magic, a way in which the Golden Age was evoked through the ritual sanctioned by the Senate's approval. If so, Claudius may have been prompted to repeat the rites because he considered his own rule to be "a new beginning" or to avert the widespread famine which affected Rome and numerous states in Greece and elsewhere throughout the empire.[177] The repetition of the games linked the Claudians firmly with the ideology of the return of the *aurea aetas* and may have paved the way for the deification of Claudius. Until the rule of Claudius there was no precedent for the deification of a non-Julian. Drusilla, who had been officially deified by Gaius, was Julian on her mother's side (Agrippina Major, the daughter of Julia Augusti). Although her father Germanicus was Claudian and adopted into the Julian family, it seems that blood relation with the Julii, even through the mother's side, counted more than adoption into this clan. This concept would have been based on the Julian claim to their descent from Venus and the recent official deification of Julius Caesar. Thanks to the skilful propaganda of the Augustan age a Julian by blood was much more a candidate for divine status than a Claudian. The deification of anyone except Augustus, the son of Divus Julius, seems to have been unthinkable during the reign of Tiberius. Livia was refused deification in 29 AD and Tiberius claimed that she did not wish it for herself. I do not believe that Livia was refused deification by Tiberius out of sheer spite, because her elevation to the status of the *diva* would have considerably strengthened his rule. Moreover, the popularity of Livia, if judged by the number of her representations as a goddess, was at its highest during the reign of Tiberius.[178] Gaius, on the contrary, had himself worshipped even while living and had Drusilla deified officially following the same procedure as the one used in the deification of Augustus. Deification of Livia coincided with the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* by Claudius and one may suspect these two events were related.

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[177] Garnsey, p. 260.

The popularity of the Mysteries under the early Empire may be explained only in view of the contemporary eclectic views on the afterlife and immortality of the soul. These views included ideas drawn from Orphic/Pythagorean mysticism,[179] blended with some elements of Stoic philosophy and Eastern concepts of astral immortality. Participation in the Eleusinian Mysteries gave the initiate deeper knowledge of some sort and the hope of immortality. Cicero[180] talks about his knowledge of the origins of life (*vera principia vitae*), his newly acquired joy of life (*laetitia vivendi*) and hope of the afterlife (*cum spe meliore moriendi*) as the result of his initiation. Both deeper knowledge and a virtuous life were believed by the Stoics to lead to immortality. Sopatros of Paphos, a Greek parodist living at Alexandria during the rule of the first two Ptolemies, believed that initiation enhanced his capacity for "every kind of excellence"[181] and Diodoros claims that through participation in the Eleusinian Mysteries the initiates become more pious and more just.[182] Thus the Mysteries may have been believed to be a factor facilitating immortality of the soul and, in some cases, even a step leading to deification. This was the case in mythology with Triptolemos, Dionysos, Heracles, Asclepios and the Dioscouroi, all of whom were initiated into the Mysteries of Eleusis and eventually deified.

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[178] See p. 103.

[179] See p. 26.

[180] Cic. *Leg.* 2.36.

[181] Farnell, *Cults*, vol. 3, p. 191.

[182] Diod. 5.48.

It is possible that the understanding of the effects of the Eleusinian Mysteries on an initiate was similar to, or influenced by, the Isiac mysteries which in Italy and Rome were rapidly gaining popularity throughout the first century BC. Although Isis was identified with Demeter as early as Herodotus,[183] who claimed that the Danaids taught Greek women the rites of the Thesmophoria,[184] the mystery rites of Isis herself, as they were known to the Romans, were extended to the laity only when the cult of the goddess became deeply Hellenized at the end of the second or even in the first century BC.[185] Before that stage initiation had been the privilege of the priesthood of Isis.[186] The main elements of the late Hellenistic and Roman mysteries of Isis were similar to what is known about the Eleusinian Mysteries. The Isiac mysteries contained numerous borrowings from the rites of Demeter such as the purifications, isolation of the *mystai* in the temple, the nocturnal ceremonies, *cista mystica* twined with the snake as an essential piece of paraphernalia. In the second century AD Apuleius openly identifies Isis with Ceres.[187] Lactantius[188] notices the similarity of the rites of the two goddesses, in both of which figure the nocturnal search and the joyous reunion. In the Greek mysteries the initiated identified himself or herself with the fate of his/her god.[189] The initiations may have strengthened the association of an initiate with Demeter/Ceres to the point where assimilation with the goddess became possible. This idea is close to the earliest conception of immortality in the Isiac Mysteries, influenced by ancient Egyptian beliefs, that in the Underworld the male dead became "another Sarapis" and a deceased woman "another Isis" (*nea Isis?*) - "which is to say that they were assimilated to the gods who had granted them salvation."[190]

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[183] Hdt. 2.59.

[184] Hdt. 2.171.

[185] S. K. Heyob, "The cult of Isis among women in the Graeco-Roman world." In *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, 51. Leiden, 1975, p. 57.

[186] Burkert (1987) p. 40.

[187] Apul. *Met.* 11.23.6ff.

[188] Lactant. *Div. Inst. epitom.* 23: *His (Isidis sacris) etiam Cereris simile mysterium est, in quo facibus accensis per noctem Proserpina requiritur, et ea inventa ritus omnis gratulatione et taedarum iactatione finitur.*

The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries

The Mysteries were identified iconographically by symbols associated with the myth and the ritual: ears of grain, poppy heads, poppy flowers, *bacchoi* made of myrtle and laurel, a snake or snakes, torches (one or two), beaded fillets, and the *cista mystica*. To consolidate the little material there is, I have decided not to separate the Republican from the early Imperial material. The emphasis of this type of iconography was more on the mystic symbols, than on vegetal fertility. The plants associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries are discussed separately.[191] Representations of snakes, *cista*, etc. in the imagery of Demeter/Ceres are less relevant for this thesis than those of torches and the beaded fillet and for that reason are discussed here only briefly.

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[189] Burkert (1987) n. 46 to Chapter Three, with bibliography.

[190] Cumont, *Afterlife*, p. 37.

[191] See Appendix 1.

The Snake

The snake is a secondary attribute of Demeter/Ceres and most probably reflected her close association with Ge/Tellus, in her fertility and protective character. It is much more common in the iconography of the Roman Ceres than of the Greek Demeter. The Arician statue of the enthroned Ceres, dated to ca. second century BC, has a bracelet in the form of a snake (cat. no. 1). The torques on the neck of an Arician bust of Ceres from the same period also end with two snakes' heads (cat. no. 2-fig.). The snake is represented before a seated Ceres, which is probably the cult statue in the temple on the Aventine depicted on the Republican denarius of C. Memmius of 56 BC (cat. no. 19-fig.). Snakes twine round the arms of Demeter/Ceres on a Campanian plaque (cat. no. 29-fig.). Demeter/Ceres is shown in a biga of snakes on a denarius of M. Volteius M. f. dated to 78 BC (cat. no. 14-fig.).

The Mystic Ceres' imagery is illustrated by (a) a Late Republican seal in Munich (cat. no. 5-fig.), (b) the Caryatids and the relief decoration of the Lesser Propylaea at Eleusis (Comparanda 25-C and 26-C) of the mid-first century BC, (c) an Augustan relief with a standing Demeter (cat. no. 39-fig.), (d) a Campanian plaque with a fragment of an initiation scene (cat. no. 41-fig.), and (d) the Lovatelli urn (cat. no. 42-fig.).[192] The second century (145 AD) Terranova sarcophagus (e) (cat. no. 43-fig.) has been included despite its later date, because it draws from the same prototype as the Campanian relief and the Lovatelli urn, but with significant changes. Demeter in the Mystery type appears also on a silver plate from Aquilea (Comparanda 21-C) although the scene refers to the Mission of Triptolemos.

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[192] On the Lovatelli urn see p. 60.

The Headdress

The representation of the mystic Demeter/Ceres usually follows the fifth and fourth century statuary type. She may be veiled only (as on the Augustan relief in Copenhagen (cat. no. 39), and the silver plate from Aquilea)[193] or wreathed. The wreath was probably less emphasized in the iconography of Demeter as the goddess of the Mysteries. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and also in later literary accounts of the sacred story, the goddess wears her hair loose as a sign of mourning, or she is veiled. She puts on her grain-ear wreath only after she has been reunited with her daughter, as a sign of joy.

The wreath may be shown with three ears of grain protruding high above the brow, almost vertically (as on the Lovatelli urn) or with four ears, two from each side, meeting high above the brow (as on the Campanian plaque). She is less often diademed, with six ears of grain protruding from the open work of the diadem (as on the Republican seal). The significance of the number of the ears of grain is not very clear, but the Ephesian cistophori of Augustus dated to 25 BC and 24-20 BC (Comparanda 48-C) also show a bunch of six ears of grain on the reverse; and the diadem of Livia with attributes of Demeter/Ceres decorated with six ears of grain (cat. no. 71-fig.) as well. It is possible that the number six had a mystic especially Pythagorean significance: six in Iamblichus was the first perfect number because it was equal to its divisors.[194] Iamblichus, however, associated this number with the sacrifice to Aphrodite on the sixth day.[195] As an even number it may have symbolized a goddess,[196] but not necessarily Aphrodite as the understanding of the numeric symbolism was changeable. In later Gnostic teaching six was the number which generated the soul.[197] Since the Mysteries guaranteed the survival of the soul through the intervention of Demeter, it is possible that originally six was the number of this goddess.

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[193] See Comparanda 21-C.

[194] Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 152.

Torches

The most significant symbol of Demeter/Ceres as the goddess of the Mysteries is the torch (*fax*, *taeda*). It seems that its most important function was purification by fire,[198] while its secondary symbolism may have been the light of Elysium. The light distinguishes Elysium from gloomy and dark Hades: the initiates in Aristophanes[199] claim that they alone would have sun and light after death, and in the *Aeneid*[200] the blessed dwellers in Elysium enjoy their own sun and stars, and the whole "plain is clothed with brilliant light."

Torches figure in the story of Demeter and Persephone. According to the

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[195] G. Clark, *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorean Life*, Liverpool University Press, p. 68, note to 152. Clark explains this association by Aphrodite's power of love which unites opposites.

[196] The Pythagorean teachings identified numbers with gods: D. J. O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived, Mathematics and Philosophy in late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1989) p. 140. The monad (one) was Apollo and the male divinities were symbolized as odd numbers. Hera was a dyad, the other female divinities were represented by even numbers.

[197] F. Cumont, in Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* II, 215, 56–8.

[198] As in Vergil's *Georgics* (1.87), *omne per ignem/ excoquitur vitium.*

[199] Ar. *Ran.* 455 and 886.

[200] Verg. *Aen.* 6.640-1, *campus . . . lumine vestit purpureo.*

Homeric Hymn to Demeter the goddess sought her daughter for nine days carrying two burning torches in her hands. In Ovid these torches are pines lit in the fires of Etna: [Demeter] *duabus flammiferas pinus manibus succendit ab Aetna.*[201] The Roman torches were probably made of pine branches.[202] They were used during the nocturnal re-enactment of the myth at the time of the Mysteries or at the Thesmophoria.[203] In Hellenic art two torches or a single torch became traditional iconographic attributes of many divinities associated with the myth of Demeter or her mysteries, especially Hecate,[204] who in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* met the despairing goddess already holding a torch of her own. Persephone is shown holding torches in most group representations with her mother.[205] Iacchus,[206] the initiates,[207] and the *daduchos* of the procession to Eleusis[208] are all torchbearers. Another group of divinities associated with Demeter and represented with torches is the Furies and Dike, especially in Apulian vase painting (Comparanda 16-C).

The position of the torch had its own significance. Iacchus, Hecate and Persephone, when represented approaching Demeter, usually hold one torch in the downward position, and the other pointing upward. The downward position of a torch may have been related to the act of purification by fire, probably performed individually during the Mysteries. On the Lovatelli urn (cat. no. 42-fig.) an initiate (probably Heracles), seated with his head and face veiled, is touched by the priestess (Persephone? Hecate?) with a flaming torch held downwards. This type of purification most probably has its origins in the story of Demeter's attempt to immortalize Demophoön by placing him in the fire. Thus the torch, especially the flaming torch, became a symbol of the specific kind of immortality acquired through the initiations. With the growing interest in the Mysteries and the immortality of the soul, the torch became not only the symbol of the nocturnal women's rites but also of Demeter/Ceres' ability to assist the mortal in his quest for immortality. In Ovid's *Fasti* Demeter/Ceres performed the rite of purification and immortalization on Triptolemos. She carries out a fire ritual complete with a triple secret spell: *Triptolemum gremio sustulit illa suo, terque manu permulsit eum, tria carmina dixit, carmina mortali non referenda sono, inque foco corpus pueri vivente favilla obruit, humanum purgit ut ignis onus.*[209] The purification by fire was believed to continue in the afterlife. According to Vergil earthly pollution by sin is burned away there by fire.[210]

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[201] Ov. *Met.* 5.441.

[202] See Appendix 1.

[203] Lactant. *Div. Inst. epitom.* 23 (see note 188 above) and Ov. *Fast.* 4.494, *Cereris sacris nunc quoque taeda datur.*

[204] Bianchi, no. 69.

[205] For example on the votive relief from Athens with Demeter, Persephone and Asclepios (Bianchi, no. 29) or on the Apulian amphora (Bianchi, no. 70).

[206] As on a pelike from Kertsch, now in the Hermitage (Bianchi, no. 1.2) or the relief hydria from the Hermitage (Bianchi, no. 5.3).

[207] The initiates are shown on the Ninion pinax (Comparanda 23-C).

[208] As on the red-figure stamnos in the Eleusis Museum (Bianchi, no. 36).

Torches were also used in wedding ceremonies where they were carried *in honorem Cereris,*[211] and were used in the ritual of the purification of the bride. But this was a different type of purification: the flaming torch was quenched in water and the bride was sprinkled with it. The rite does not imply that Ceres was a goddess of marriage, only of purification.

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[209] Ov. *Fast.* 4.550–555.

[210] Verg. *Aen.* 6.999.

[211] Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* s.v. "*facem,*" 87 Muller: *facem nuptiis in honorem Cereris praeferebant; aqua aspergebatur nova nupta, sive ut casta puraque ad virum veniret, sive ut ignem atque acquam cum viro communicaret.* This fragment has often been taken to prove that Ceres was the goddess of marriage. I believe she was the goddess of ritual purity of the bride, as *casta Ceres.*

The Roman iconography of Ceres/Demeter emphasized the torch or torches of Ceres. In Greek iconography, especially in vase painting, this was not always the case. In numerous cases where Demeter and Persephone were shown together, Demeter was shown holding a sceptre and Persephone the torch or two torches. Demeter was, however, represented with a torch or torches whenever she was depicted as Thesmophoros,[212] and also in localities known for her special mystery cult, especially in the Peloponnese (at Andania,[213] Hermione,[214] at Lycosura where Persephone was worshipped as Despoina,[215] and at Gytheion,[216]) and at Corinth. A fifth century BC Corinthian dish shows Demeter enthroned left, holding a bunch of corn ears and poppies and a flaming torch.[217] A bronze Corinthian coin of 350-322 BC has the head of Demeter on the obverse and a torch in a wreath on the reverse.[218] In the Sicilian iconography which emphasized the regal character of

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[212] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," nos. 84, 98, 102, 103, 107, 110, 211.

[213] Paus. 4.33.4.

[214] Paus. 8.29.

[215] A second century BC sculptural group. See J. J. Politt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, 1986) p.165, and Paus. 8.37.3-5.

[216] The second century BC votive relief: *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 309.

[217] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 121.

[218] Charles K. Williams 2nd and Orestes H. Zervos, "Coins from Corinth," *Hesperia* (1982) p. 150.

Persephone and her role as mother of the Orphic Dionysos,[219] Demeter was represented with a torch or two torches,[220] often as a desperate mother chasing the chariot of Hades (Comparanda 18-C). Demeter *Nikephoros* is shown on a coin of Henna,[221] dated to 258 BC, standing with a torch in her right hand. The ancient bronze statue of Demeter/Ceres from Henna, stolen by Verres, held two torches.[222]

The type of Demeter/Ceres as torchbearer, was adopted by the Romans. Ceres, walking or riding the snake chariot and carrying two torches was a common type in Republican coinage (cat. nos. 14-fig. and 10-fig.). A Republican seal in Munich dated (too early, I think) to the beginning of the first century BC (cat. no. 5-fig.) shows Demeter/Ceres with two flaming torches of the Greek type. Generally, in the Republican cult statuary of Ceres, the torch replaced the sceptre which was more common as an attribute of Ceres in her Greek Classical iconography.[223] The torch became a prime attribute of the goddess, practically on a par with the ears of corn. Under the Principate the special place which the torch maintained in the Republican iconography of Ceres was carefully preserved, although by that time it had changed its shape from the Greek to the Alexandrian type, and its symbolism probably deepened to include a form of apotheosis. Ceres is almost always represented with the torch on wall paintings of the Imperial period in Pompeii (cat nos. 34-fig, 35 and 36), and is shown in this way on the ivory plaque (cat. no. 49), the terracotta lamp (cat.

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[219] See p. 35.

[220] See p. 55.

[221] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 37.

[222] Cic. *Verr.* 4.109.

[223] See p. 107.

no. 50), and on Roman Imperial coins (cat. no. 44-fig. and cat. no. 45-fig.).

Types of Torches

Four basic types of torches were used in representations of Demeter/Ceres throughout the ages: (i) the Greek "blunt" torch; (ii) the Apulian four-winged torch; (iii) the Alexandrian torch; and (iv) a short torch, narrow at the bottom and rapidly widening towards the top; to which may be added iva) a mini-torch of the same shape, yet much shorter.

(i) the Greek "blunt" torch

The first and the earliest type was the Greek "blunt" torch of twigs (hawthorn?) bound together in three or four places. The torch of this type is rather thick and maintains the same thickness along its length. It was in use throughout the Greek world (including South Italy and Sicily) in Classical times and in the early Hellenistic period. At Eleusis it probably remained unchanged due to the conservative tradition of the Mysteries. The Greek torch came in three sizes: (a) a short, "blunt" torch; (b) a long, slim, "blunt" torch[224] (ca. 1.10 cm — if set on ground level it would have reached the waistline of the bearer) of medium thickness, and tied in five places; (c) a long, thick "blunt" torch,[225] as tall as the sceptre would be, the size of the grown standing person.

The short torch (a) is earliest. The slim, "blunt" torch (b) belongs mostly to the iconography of Classical Demeter. The long thick torch (c) begins to appear at the end of the fifth century, initially slightly slimmer.[226] It may be used as a substitute for a sceptre, and in a rare case is held by Iacchos.[227] The early Imperial Campanian relief (cat. no. 41-fig.) and its copy, the Lovatelli urn (cat. no. 42-fig.), represent Demeter/Ceres holding a large torch of this type (c), made of twigs tied in three to five places, which is blunt at the top. The funerary altar of Amemptus, dated ca. 30 AD is also decorated with the long thick torches, with a beaded fillet suspended from them. This form of the torch seems to belong specifically to the iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries and related contexts.

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[224] As on a hydria from Capua with Persephone holding two torches (Bianchi, no 6).

[225] As on a hydria from Cumae (Bianchi, no. 5).

(ii) the Apulian four-winged torch

The second type of torch associated with Demeter was a peculiar Apulian four-winged torch which belonged strictly to funerary art. It was popular in the fifth and fourth centuries in vase painting in South Italy and Sicily. Persephone holds it in scenes of the Underworld, and Demeter in depictions of the Abduction of Persephone. This type was abandoned, probably in the third century BC, and never found its way into Roman art.

(iii) the Ornamental torch

The most important for the iconography of Demeter/Ceres under the early Principate was the ornamental torch,[228] tall, narrow at the bottom, gently widening towards the top, and opening slightly at the mouth. It was decorated either with horizontal bands, which look like coils of tightly twined string, or more often with leafy strands in place of the bands. I think that this decoration is an imitation of acanthus leaves. This type of torch may have been created specially for the cult of Ceres, either in third-century BC Alexandria, home of garlands and vegetal decoration, or in second-century BC Pergamon. From Pergamon comes the representation of a large torch of this type on a marble altar,[229] possibly dedicated to Eirene and the Eleusinian gods. The altar may originally have stood in the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon. The torch is decorated with symbols of Demeter: two poppies at the base and two ears of grain attached on each side of the mouth. The earliest examples of this type of torch in Roman art are found on Republican coin representations of the full-figure statue of Ceres (cat. no. 11-fig.) dated to the beginning of the first century BC. The early Augustan representation of the Dodekatheoi from Pompeii[230] shows Demeter/Ceres holding the Alexandrian torch and standing next to Apollo and Diana. The best instances are on wall paintings in Pompeii: the Mystic Ceres seated on a hamper from the House of Meleager (cat. no. 33); the enthroned Ceres from the Casa del Navaglio (cat. no. 34-fig.); or the standing Ceres *Nimbeata* from the House of the Dioscouroi (cat. no. 36-fig.). The terracotta relief from Copenhagen (cat. no. 39-fig.) with Ceres standing above the cista, holding the torch and two ears of grain, despite its Classical fifth or fourth century prototype, also shows a torch of the "Alexandrian" type, although it is slightly less ornamental than normal. In general, the "Alexandrian" torch with its vegetal decoration was associated with life, growth, and abundance, all features characteristic of the Julio-Claudian optimistic views on both life and afterlife.

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[226] The torch held by Persephone on the Grand Relief of Eleusis (Bianchi no. 27).

[227] As on the relief hydria from Cumae (Bianchi, no. 5).

[228] Which is called the "Roman torch" by Daremberg-Saglio, p. 1025, fig. 2915. Daremberg-Saglio derives this type from Etruria.

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[229] D. Castriota, *The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Imagery of Abundance in later Greek and Roman Imperial Art* (Princeton, 1995) pp. 40ff., fig. 49 (Comparanda 32-C).

[230] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter/Ceres," no. 158.

The Alexandrian long torch becomes scarce in the iconography of Demeter/Ceres by the end of the first century AD. At the beginning of the second century AD, however, when the iconography of Demeter becomes closely related to sepulchral art, torches of this kind may still appear in funerary contexts. They are shown (one of them entwined with the beaded fillet) on the Haterii relief in the Vatican Museum (Comparanda 50-C), in the representation of the dead lying in state.[231] A relief from the same tomb (of the Haterii) shows Mercury, Proserpina, Pluto and Ceres with Ceres holding the flaming Alexandrian torch.[232]

(iv) a short torch widening towards the top was known from Late Republican times on. The best early example of it can be found on the Munich relief, formerly known as the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, dated to ca. 90 BC.[233] By the time of Hadrian, type (iv) is used in sepulchral art, especially in representations on sarcophagi of Demeter/Ceres in the scene of the abduction and chase after Persephone.

(iva) this short torch is found in stationary representations of imperial women assimilated to Ceres/Demeter, as Faustina the Elder (in the Louvre) holding a torch in her right hand and two poppy heads with two grain-ears in her left.[234]

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[231] D. E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London, 1961), fig. 66.

[232] Spaeth (1996) fig. 19 (see Comparanda 51-C).

[233] Kleiner, fig. 30, p. 50. The scene of the wedding of the Amphitrite is probably derived from the chthonic context, and therefore the torches may be of the type used during funerals.

The Torch in Apotheosis

Through its association with the rites of initiation the torch became one of the many symbols of apotheosis, although in the Julio-Claudian period this symbolism was not yet fully developed. This was the time when an entirely new iconography of mystic symbolism and new concepts of the afterlife, including apotheosis and astral immortality were being developed. Since the astral immortality of the soul required that the *anima* move through the air to the upper regions, the moon and finally one's own star, various vehicles were devised to get her there.[235] An orientally-dressed figure, sometimes winged, is often represented in scenes of apotheosis in the first and the beginning of the second centuries AD. The man is usually thought to be either Boreas or Aion, and in literature on the subject is sometimes called *the Parthian.*[236] Yet Iacchus, sometimes understood to be the spirit of the *pompe* to Eleusis, and the

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[234] Spaeth (1996) fig. 25.

[235] There was a wide choice available: winged horses, griffins (Apollo's horse), chariots as in the scene of the apotheosis of Julius Caesar on the Belvedere altar in the Vatican Museum (Kleiner, p. 103, fig.86), birds of prey (an extension of an idea of a bird-soul) and finally, winged figures bearing torches, including Phosphorus the morning star, who used to be shown before the chariot of the sun god (Cumont, *Afterlife*, pp. 156-159). The winged figures with torches as bearers of souls begin to appear more regularly in the second half of the first century and predominate from then on. Originally they represented sky divinities, like Vesperna or Luna, who are often shown holding a torch from the late Hellenistic period on. The addition of a torch may be distantly related to the belief in astral immortality (achieved with the help of initiation into the mystery cults (therefore the torch), although at the same time it symbolized the light of the star.

[236] O. J. Brendel, *The Visible Idea, Classical "Ariels"* (Washington, 1980) pp. 49ff. Boreas was usually represented in oriental dress on account of his northern origin. He had a myth of abduction similar to that of Hades, and so could also be a soul-snatcher.

daduchos, its mortal leader, are also always represented wearing oriental attire. In Aristophanes' *Frogs* the initiates, led by their *daduchos*, walk carrying torches towards their own Elysium. The *daduchos* plays here the role of Hermes Psychopompos, the leader of the souls. It is possible that the walking *daduchos* type[237] was developed into the flying *daduchos*/psychopompos figure.[238] Apart from the *psychopompoi* and vehicles of apotheosis, stars and the moon also appear on funerary reliefs,[239] in portrait sculpture,[240] on coins,[241] and on cameos.[242] This type of iconography, which begins under the Late Republic and gains wide popularity under the Julio-Claudians, is notable for its lack of stability, its eclecticism, and the brief endurance of many of its motifs. It was as much a new creation as the iconography of the Golden Age/Elysium to which it was ideologically related.

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[237] Iacchos, who personifies the *pompe* to Eleusis, has a knee-length tunic, sometimes belted, and high boots. The *Daduchos* wears the same kind of tunic, belted, with a broad sash over a longer tunic, and leggings as well (Bianchi, no. 36). His headdress, however, is usually different from the Phrygian cap of Iacchos - being a broad flat band tied at the back of the head.

[238] The secret cults aimed to supply the soul with a guide to lead it during its risky journey. In Plato (*Phd.* 108) Socrates talks about the *daimon, hegemon* of the dead, *psychopompos*. Cf. Cumont, *Afterlife*, p. 163.

[239] The Amiternum relief with a funerary procession has a crescent moon and several stars on the canopy hanging above the dead lying on a bier (Kleiner, p. 105, fig. 88).

[240] For the stars attached to the statues of Julius Caesar after a comet was seen during seven nights while the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris were being held, see J. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford and New York, 1979) p. 65. For Augustus' belief that the comet represented Caesar's soul see Pliny *NH* 2.94.

[241] The *sidus Iulium*; cf. also the denarius of L. Torquatus dated to 65 BC with the Sibyl wearing a beaded fillet, and a tripod with a star on either side of it - *RRC*, no. 411/1b, pl. 50. Also the star above the head of Drusilla on a coin of Apamea in Bithynia (38-39 AD) in W. R. Trillmich, "Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius: Agrippina Major und Antonia Augusta auf Münzen," *AMUGS* 8 (1987) pp 108ff., pl. 13.1

[242] For example, a cameo of Antonia shown wearing a star-studded diadem and holding a bust of Augustus (cat. no. 91).

I believe that one of the earliest iconographic examples of the *daduchos/ psychopompos* provided with wings is the winged figure dressed in oriental attire on the stucco relief (the so-called "rape of Ganymede") from the Basilica Sotterranea near Porta Maggiore.[243] Ganymede is represented with a jug in his right hand and a flaming torch in his left. The jug and especially the torch are symbols of mystery rites.[244] Another orientally-dressed man, a *daduchos* (?), appears bearing aloft the deified Augustus in one of the earliest Julio-Claudian scenes of apotheosis, on the Grand Camée de France. If the flying figure represents the leader of the initiates, the fact that in the same scene Livia is represented as Demeter/Ceres (through the bunch of ears of grain and poppies) gains new meaning.

Importance of Heracles on the Lovatelli Urn

Heracles was the prototype of a mortal deified for his good deeds and virtues. At the same time he was one of the best known mythical initiates of Demeter. The association of Heracles with Demeter is important for the understanding of the role this goddess played in the ideology of the early Roman ruler cult.

Cicero[245] says that there are two kinds of gods: those who were always regarded as dwellers in heaven and those who got there through their merits. To the latter belong Hercules, Liber, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, and Quirinus.

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[243] Brendel (1980) fig. 8 (Comparanda 52-C).

[244] A denarius of M. Plaetorius Cestianus, 69 BC, shows on the obverse the head of the goddess crowned with poppies and on the reverse a jug and a torch. Crawford (*RRC*) interprets the goddess as Persephone. I believe she is the *mystic* Ceres with the usual wreath of wheat ears replaced with the crown of poppy heads to emphasize her chthonic aspect. See *RRC*, I, no. 405, 3a, and 3b, p. 415; also 4a and 5.

[245] *Leg*. 2.8.19ff.

According to Pliny the Elder[246] deification was the most ancient method by which to show gratitude to those who helped others, "for mortal to aid mortal - this is god." Benefactors of mankind are found in Vergil's Elysium.[247] The funeral speech for Augustus, by Tiberius, also compared the deceased emperor to Hercules.[248]

Heracles and Demeter were associated both in cult and in art in Greece. They were worshipped together in Attica and Boeotia as is proved by three surviving fourth century BC votive reliefs from these regions.[249] There are numerous representations showing Heracles' participation in the Eleusinian Mysteries.[250] He appears first with the gods of Eleusis on a red-figure amphora from Kos, dated to 400-380 BC.[251] On a pelike from Kertch,[252] dated to 340-330 BC, he is shown crowned with a myrtle wreath, holding his club in his right hand and a *bacchos*, the initiate's bunch of myrtle twigs, in his left. A relief hydria from Cumae of the fourth century BC[253] shows the hero standing in the presence of the Eleusinian goddess holding a *bacchos*, his club, and the customary offering of a piglet. On a marble relief from Athens[254] he is seen sitting on his lion skin and leaning on his club, apparently engaged in conversation with two goddesses.

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[246] *NH* 2.18.19

[247] *Aen.* 6.663.

[248] Dio Cass. 56.36.4.

[249] Vollkommer, nos. 389, 390 and 391.

[250] Vollkommer, nos. 267-271, 272-273, 274-275, figs. 53-54, show seven representations dating to the fourth century BC. On fig. 54 (272-273) Heracles is represented by the side of Demeter, Persephone, Plutos with the cornucopia and Triptolemos in the snake-chariot. His initiation with the Dioscouroi present, also as initiates, is also shown (nos. 268 and 271, fig. 53, and no. 273, fig. 54. For Heracles with Dionysos in Eleusis see nos. 272 and 273-274, fig. 54.

[251] Vollkommer, op. cit., p. 41, no. 268.

[252] Bianchi, p. 16, no. 1.

[253] Bianchi, p. 17, no. 5.

In Roman art Heracles is depicted as an initiate of Demeter/Ceres on three different monuments, produced within a time span of ca. 150 years: an architectural plaque of the Augustan age, (cat. no. 41-fig.), the Lovatelli urn (cat. no. 42-fig.) from the beginning of the Imperial age, and the Terranova sarcophagus of 145 AD (cat. no. 43-fig.). All of them show a scene with the initiation of Heracles and were probably all inspired by the same original and produced in a period when interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries was high and the Roman ideology of the ruler cult was taking shape.

The Beaded Fillet - *Casta* Ceres

The beaded fillet, a symbol of consecration and ritual purity was associated, from the fifth century BC onwards, with Apollo and Demeter, mostly in art of South Italian provenance. On the one hand, a fillet of this type decorated Apollo's omphalos at Delphi,[255] his tripod,[256] the arms and heads of Apollo's suppliants,[257] and bucrania.[258] On the other hand, it was shown on the head of Demeter,[259] in the scenery of the Mysteries of Eleusis,[260] and, in the second century AD, even decorating the head of a sacrificial piglet held by an initiate. The beaded fillet is part of the headdress of Persephone on a Locrian votive plaque,[261] and symbolizes the purity of the Orphic goddess, mother of Zagreos-Dionysos invoked as "pure Persephone" in the golden Orphic tablets.[262] It was also represented on the four-winged torch of Demeter in vase painting in Apulia,[263] and on the torch of Hecate in the scene of the Underworld.[264] The goddess, in earlier literature identified as Nyx, on the north side of the famous monument traditionally known as the Great Altar in Pergamon has a large beaded fillet swinging forward from her head as she throws a jar with a snake encircling it.[265] I believe she is the mystic Demeter, the chthonic divinity identified here by both the snake-jar, an iconographical reinterpretation of the *cista mystica* and the beaded fillet. In Roman art, the beaded

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[254] Vollkommer, no. 391.

[255] *LIMC*, II, p. 276, no. 476.

[256] A stater of Croton, dated to 420-380 BC shows Apollo shooting Python and a tripod with a beaded fillet dangling from it (*LIMC*, II, p. 269, no. 1000); see Comparanda 14-C.

[257] *LIMC*, s.v. "Electra," no. 52.

[258] Vollkommer, p. 50, fig. 67, no. 377.

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[259] A Tanagrian figurine showing a woman in a very high polos, veiled on top of an elaborate coiffure. Two strings of beaded fillets crossing are shown below. The woman is holding another beaded fillet, with large beads, in her left hand. See Higgins, *The Tanagra Figurines*, p. 104.

[260] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 392 (Comparanda 23-C).

[261] Langlotz, no. 72, dated to 470 BC. Persephone, diademed and veiled, and holding a rooster, is seated beside Hades. The beaded fillet (definitely not a strand of hair—the beads are clearly visible) is falling down her breast, from behind the ear and along the fold of the veil (Comparanda 11-C).

[262] W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935) p.174, on the tablets from Thurii, fourth century BC.

[263] A scene of the abduction of Persephone, amphora from Anzi, 330 BC (*LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 312 (Comparanda 18-C).

[264] On the Apulian amphora from Ruvo (Bianchi, no. 70); see Comparanda 16-C.

[265] Smith (1991) fig. 196.5. The iconography of the north frieze is difficult to interpret. Smith calls this part of the Altar iconography "unfamiliar" and mentions the possibility that some of the figures may represent "dark forces" like the Moirai and the Furies (p. 163); Comparanda 20-C.

fillet first appears hanging from the ivy wreath of the Sibyl on the obverse of a denarius of L. Torquatus, dated to 65 BC,[266] but the association with both deities was continued, beside its role as the symbol of the consecration of sacrificial bulls.[267] As part of the headdress it appears, however sporadically, in representations of Apollo[268] and Iphigenia, priestess of Artemis,[269] as well as on images of Demeter or Persephone. A Campanian terracotta plaque of the first century AD shows the head of Demeter wearing a polos, with the beaded fillet dangling on both sides (cat. no. 28-fig.), and Demeter/Ceres of the mystic type appears on a Republican seal in Munich (cat. no. 5-fig.), where she wears a very distinct, large beaded fillet. Beaded fillets of this type were suspended from the beaks of swans on the mural in the upstairs bedroom of the *domus Augusti* on the Palatine dated to ca. 30 BC,[270] where they are probably a sign of Octavian's initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries[271] and of his syncretistic devotion to Demeter/Isis.[272] After 14 AD this distinctive attribute of consecration and the Eleusinian Mysteries[273] became an emblem of a special female priesthood in the ruler cult.[274]

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[266] *RRC*, no. 411/1b, pl. 50.

[267] Probably the earliest example is the first century BC so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus. See Kleiner, p. 49, and I. S. Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art," *MAAR* 22 (1955) p. 27. Other examples include the frieze in the temple of Apollo Sosianus, dated to ca. 20 BC (Strong, no. 31) and the *Ara Pietatis*, recently identified with the *Ara Gentis Iuliae*, relief (Kleiner, p. 143).

[268] A wall painting from Pompeii. Apollo's laurel wreath is tied with a beaded fillet. See *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome, 1989) no. 31.

[269] The clearest example is the wall painting in the Roman villa in Magdalensburg near Klagenfurt, Austria, dated to the middle or later years of the reign of Augustus. See R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge, 1991) p. 171, fig. 182.

[270] G. Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (Mainz, 1983) p. 75, pl. 14, and Ling (1991) p. 39.

[271] Compare the beaded fillets used as decoration in the background of the Mystery scene on the Ninion pinax (Bianchi, no. 35).

The Beaded Fillet as a Symbol of Purification

There can be no doubt that at a certain stage of the cult of the Goddesses, and probably through a connection with Apollo, or even Apollo/Sarapis, the beaded fillet became an important symbol of their, and their initiates' purity. This change may have been affected by eclectic religious (Orphic and Pythagorean) influences but it was certainly facilitated by the general tendency to associate Demeter with Persephone so closely that they usually shared all their attributes. There are literary references both to pure Persephone in the Orphic tablets,[275] and to *casta Ceres* whose fillets must not be touched by the unchaste.[276] The blessed souls, thrice found pure and now dwelling in Pindar's Islands of the Blessed go chapleted,[277] as do the inhabitants of Vergil's Elysium who wear snowy chaplets.[278] Ceres as a chthonic goddess, early and closely associated with Ge/Tellus,[279] had always been the divinity who cleansed pollution, especially pollution connected to human death[280] and burial,[281] as well as purifying the fields.[282] Tibullus[283] relates that on the day of the *lustratio* of the crops and fields any taint of pollution, including that brought about by sex, had to be removed. The colour of robes worn for the *lustratio*, the *Cerialia* and the *Sacra Cereris*[284] was white. By the time of the first century BC the concept of ritual purity was transformed into a requirement for moral purity,[285] and under the influence of Stoic and neo-Pythagorean philosophy as well as the Eleusinian Mysteries,[286] *castitas* became a characteristic of the goddess herself. The virtue of chastity was highly valued in Roman society in which the perfect Roman *matrona* had to be, above all, *casta*. The stories of Lucretia,[287] Verginia, and Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, to name but a few, were *exempla* for Roman women. Quinta Claudia proved her chastity by miraculously moving the grounded ship which was bringing the sacred stone of the Pessinian Magna Mater to Rome.[288] Chastity was not equated with celibacy but with a high degree of integrity, with modesty, restraint, and fidelity to one, legally married, partner. High respect was enjoyed by the *univirae*, often the only women allowed to perform special religious rites.[289] Chastity may have been believed to be a prerequisite to fertility.[290]

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[272] For Octavian's private religion foreshadowing the later syncretism of Demeter and Isis in Apuleius, *Metamophosis*, see M. Kozakiewicz, "The headgear of the female statue," in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. A. M. Small. *JRA* Sup. 17 (1996) p. 140, n. 33.

[273] Mylonas (1961) p. 261, believes that at the entrance to the sanctuary the wreaths of myrtle were replaced with the wreaths decorated with fillets of consecration. The initiates of the Samothracian Mysteries were given some fillets, believed to protect the owner from death by drowning at sea (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.917).

[274] For the discussion and earlier scholarship see Kozakiewicz, n. 272 above.

[275] See p. 63 above.

[276] Juv. *Sat.* 6.45-51. On the "castitas" of Ceres see Spaeth (1987) p. 79ff., esp. pp. 89-92.

[277] Pind. *Ol.* 2.70.

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[278] Verg. *Aen.* 6.665, *nivea vitta.*

[279] See p. 95ff.

[280] The *porca praesentanea* was sacrificed to Ceres, possibly in the presence of the corpse. See Spaeth (1987) p. 128.

[281] The *porca praecidanea* was sacrificed to Ceres on occasions when the body was not properly buried. It was done to remove the stain of impurity from the family of the deceased. See Cato *Agr.* 134, and the discussion by Le Bonniec, pp. 95-97 also Spaeth (1987) p. 129.

[282] The *lustratio* of the fields with the rite of *suovetaurilia* described by Cato (*Agr.* 141) was followed by the sacrifice to Ceres.

[283] Tib. 2.1. As to the significance of an olive wreath in the context of *lustratio* I find some parallel in the parade of the olive-wreathed equites on the 15th of July, linked by Scullard, (1981) pp. 164ff., with the census of the Equites. The census was always connected with *lustratio.* The olive was also used in funeral ceremonies, probably as a purifying evergreen, by the Lacedemonians and the Pythagoreans. See Blech (1982) p. 93.

[284] For women celebrating the annual festival of Ceres, dressed in snowy-white garments, see Ov. *Met.* 10.410-443 and *Fast.* 4.619.

[285] As is emphasized by Cicero who stressed the fact that the gods must be approached with purity of mind (*Leg.* II. 10.24.2-5).

[286] Freedom from pollution, especially by blood, was one of the conditions of the initiation.

Through the virtue of her *castitas*, but not only for this reason,[291] Ceres/Demeter seems to have become, in the later part of the first century BC a female counterpart of Apollo the Purifier, patron god of Augustus. It is typical that Augustus himself was strongly preoccupied, in a characteristically Pythagorean way, with the purification of temples, people and places alike.[292] This specialized association between Apollo and Demeter had very complex Hellenistic Greek roots which include the cult of Aion, the god of eternity, who was believed to have first introduced the Golden Age during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221

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[287] Livy 1.57-59; Val. Max. 6.1.1; Ov. *Fast.* 2.721-852. It is characteristic that the *exemplum* of Lucretia's defence of her honour is more often repeated in historiography in the first century BC at the time of Augustan moral reforms then ever before.

[288] Livy 26.19.3ff.

[289] As the sacrifice to Pudicitia see Livy 10.23.4.

[290] See Spaeth (1996) p. 112.

[291] See p. 70.

[292] Liebeschuetz (1979) p. 97.

BC).[293] The most prominent part of the composite concept of Aion was Sol-Apollo-Helios, the sun-god (another was Jupiter, yet another was Osiris[294] *Frugifer*),[295] and thus Phoebus Apollo eventually became the god who ushered in the Golden Age in Rome. The belief in the arrival of the new age was common under the Late Republic and had its roots in the Hellenistic beliefs of the third through the first centuries BC.[296] Cicero did not doubt that the *Magnus Annus*, which was to precede the beginning of the new Golden Age, would eventually come.[297]

Numismatic and epigraphic sources point to several connections between Demeter/Ceres and Aion, although they are disregarded in literature. Aion was worshipped as Saturnus in Africa,[298] and there sometimes his spouse was the African Ceres.[299] He was also believed to have been born to Kore, daughter of Demeter in the *Koreion* (also called *Eleusinion*) at Alexandria,[300] an important centre of the cult of Demeter of Eleusinian origins.[301] The rites of the cult there are described by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Demeter*. There is evidence that in the Julio-Claudian period the Alexandrian *Eleusinion* was in communication with Eleusis in Greece.[302] The association between the Eleusinian goddess and Apollo may also have been strengthened by the highly eclectic neo-Pythagorean mysticism which, having undergone a revival in Alexandria, reached Rome about the mid-first century BC. Although the neo-Pythagoreans worshipped Apollo as their main deity, they believed that Pythagoras learned at Eleusis as well.[303]

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[293] For the Egyptian background of Aion and the theology of the god, as well as some aspects of his iconography, see Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*, pp. 1-30.

[294] Apollo was associated with Serapis who absorbed Osiris and Horus. Horus was fully assimilated with Apollo Helios and Selene Isis was paired with Helios-Apollo. See D. B. Thompson. *Ptolemaic Oinochoai* (Oxford, 1973) p. 64.

[295] Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*, p. 12ff.

[296] For discussion on the Hellenistic origins, see Castriota (1995) chap. 4, p. 124ff.

[297] Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.51.

[298] Aion's iconography was strongly influenced by that of Helios/Phoebus Apollo. The late Republican bronze coins of Hadrumentum show the head of the god surrounded by a nimbus, with the sun's rays radiating from it, and a trident behind. By the time of the Severans he has the laurel wreath. Aion was shown either as a youthful boy or an aged man. See Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*, pp. 14 and 18ff.

[299] Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*, p. 16, and *ILS* 4456, 4457, and 4459ff.

[300] For discussion of the controversial information from Posidonius, see P. M. Fraser. *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972) p. 200, n. 79.2.

Apollo and Demeter do not often appear together in Greek art. A coin of the Delphic Amphictyony dated to 336-334 BC shows the head of Demeter, veiled and crowned with ears of corn, on the obverse and Apollo seated on the omphalos on the reverse.[304] In Alexandria Apollo is associated with Kore in a single dedication.[305] Roman Republican coins with obverses showing Ceres usually had reverses which displayed her imagery, such as a wreath of grain-ears, a plough, a yoke of oxen; or associated her with Dionysus and his symbols (see p. 39). After the beginning of the first century BC,[306] however, Apollo is often joined with Ceres in coin representations or on issues of the same moneyer. A denarius of C. Vibius Pansa of 90 BC has the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and the representation of Ceres walking with two torches in her hands on the reverse (cat. no. 11-fig.). Coins of Mussidius Longus struck in 42 AD, in gold, have the heads of only three gods: Apollo, Sol and Demeter/Ceres.[307] The beaded fillet shared by these two deities proves that the connection existed. Probably the closest iconographic association between Ceres and Apollo is shown in the wall painting of Ceres from the House of the Dioscouroi in Pompeii (cat. no. 36-fig.) dated to the rule of Nero, in which the goddess, crowned with a thick and bushy wreath of grain-ears, has a wide nimbus surrounding her head as well. The nimbus was the usual attribute of *Phoibos* Apollo, especially in Apulian vase painting.[308]

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[301] For the possible transfer of the Mysteries of Eleusis to Alexandria by Timotheos the Eumolpid, see Tac. *Hist.* 4.83.

[302] Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*, (n. 293) p. 5. For three Roman brothers, Aulus, Quintus and Sextus Pompeius, who erected a statue of Aion at Eleusis ca. 70 BC see p. 25. For the Alexandrian cult of the Goddesses influenced by the Eleusinian festival at Alexandria see K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries," *TAPhS* 64 (1974) pt. 3.

[303] Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 151. The house of Pythagoras at Metapontum was converted into the temple of Demeter.

[304] Farnell, v. 3, p. 234; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 165; *BMC*, Central Greece, 27, 22, pl. 4.13.

[305] Fraser (1972) p. 196.

Demeter/Ceres in the Propaganda of the Golden Age

Varro, who identified Tellus with Ceres, believed that her worshippers were of Saturnian stock. As Saturn was the divinity presiding over the men living in the Golden Age, the ancient Romans believed that farmers, the worshippers of Ceres, were the remnant of the Saturnian kingdom: *Nec sine causa terram eandem appellabant*

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[306] Alföldi notices the beginning of the Ptolemaic influences and their ideology of the Golden Age on the Roman denarii since ca. 139 BC. The *interpretatio Romana* of Aion would be Veiovis (identified with both Apollo and Jupiter) who begins to appear on the denarii from ca. 115 BC and very frequently between 87 and 84 BC (issues of the supporters of Marius). Since the 80s and throughout the civil wars the Romans expected the arrival of the *magnus annus* (with the conflagration) and the arrival of the Golden Age. See Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*, p. 25ff. with literature.

[307] See p. 73.

[308] See *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 459, for the representation of Demeter with the sun god (nimbeatus) in his chariot.

Matrem et Cererem, et qui eam colerent, piam et utilem agere vitam credebant atque eos solos reliquos esse ex stirpe Saturni regis. Cui consentaneum est, quod initia vocantur potissimum ea quae Cereris fiunt sacra.[309] The Golden Age was the first of Hesiod's Ages of mankind and this is why, Varro believed, the rites of Ceres were called *initia*, "beginnings".[310] Astrology, which was greatly popular in the first century BC, emphasized the role of Demeter/Ceres in the arrival of the Golden Age. In the fourth *Eclogue* Vergil[311] prophesized "*iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna*". Virgo, the constellation governed by Demeter/Ceres, seems to be the divinity named *Parthenos* by Aratus[312] and has multiple associations with Saturn, Demeter and Dionysos as well. Virgo/Parthenos dwelt among the human race during the Golden Age ruled by Saturn and is described as a goddess holding golden ears of wheat. She had once left earth filled with loathing for the cruel Bronze Age race. Yet another *Parthenos*, a maiden holding a torch, (name identified by a vase inscription), appears on the fifth century BC Stanford volute crater (side A) in a scene with Triptolemos. This Parthenos was probably one of the daughters of king Celeus of Eleusis.[313] A Parthenos, beside Demeter, Kore and Dionysos, received a naos from Claudia Venosta in Cyrene.[314] Marcus Manilius,[315] a poet of the first century AD, influenced by Lucretius, in his didactic poem dedicated to Tiberius identified Virgo with Erigone.[316] For Manilius, Erigone, despite her association with the myth of Icarius, is still the one "who ruled the previous age with justice and fled away when they (mankind) slipped back."[317] Whatever the identification, the ruler of the returning Golden Age was to be Apollo, but Demeter was to usher in his reign through Virgo.[318] I believe that this association of Apollo and Demeter/Ceres within the ideology of the Golden Age found expression in the use of Ceres types on coin issues minted between the years 48 BC through 42 BC. A series of *aurei* of L. Mussidius Longus, bearing the head of Ceres wreathed or diademed on the obverse and a wreath of grain-ears on the reverse, was struck in 42 BC.[319] Also in 42 BC were struck the *aurei* with the head of Sol,[320] Apollo,[321] and Roma.[322] Obverses of all the other *aurei* struck in that year bear portraits of the Triumvirs, Julius Caesar and the moneyer L. Regulus.

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[309] Varro *Re Rust.* 4.1.5, "Nor was it without reason that they called the one Earth 'Mother' and 'Ceres' and believed that those who worshipped her led a good and useful life and that they alone were of the surviving stock of King Saturn. And it is in accordance with this that the sacred rites in honour of Ceres are beyond all others called 'Initiations'" (W. D. Hopper, Loeb).

[310] Varro *Re Rust.* 3.1.5, trans. Wagenvoort, "The Goddess Ceres and her Roman Mysteries," *Pietas: Selected Studies in Roman Religion* (Leiden, 1980) p. 134, n. 35.

[311] *Ecl.* 4.6. Vergil wrote this *Eclogue* in 41 BC to celebrate the beginning of consulship by his patron, Asinius Pollio, the supporter of Mark Antony, at the beginning of 40 BC. See Alföldi, *Aion Plutonios*, p. 29.

[312] *Phaenomena* 96-136. Aratus of Soloi lived ca. 315-240 BC. His poem *Phaenomena* dealt with the zodiac signs and was translated into Latin by Cicero and Germanicus. For the association of Demeter with Virgo see Spaeth (1994), p. 87 who, however, does not mention Parthenos, the daughter of king Celeus, nor Parthenos in Cyrene.

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[313] I. K. and A. E. Raubitschek, "The Mission of Triptolemos," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography: Presented to Homer A. Thompson, Hesperia*, Sup. 20 (Princeton, 1982) pp. 109ff.

[314] D. White, "Cyrene's Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone. A Summary of a Decade of Excavation," *AJA* 85 (1981) p. 23. White reports the existence of four inscriptions which are dedications of four *naoi* to the Great Demeter, the Parthenos, the Kore and Dionysos. He believes that the Parthenos is an epithet of the Kore.

[315] *Astronomica* 2.442

[316] Erigone was put in the heavens as the constellation Virgo by the gods. She was the daughter of Icarius, who hospitably entertained Dionysos, was given wine and treated his neighbours to it. Thinking they were poisoned they killed him. Erigone committed suicide upon finding her father's body.

[317] Trans. Spaeth (1994) p. 87.

[318] For the *magnus annus* and the coming new age see Cicero *Nat. D.* 2.51.

[319] Previously mentioned p. 22 above. For discussion of the type see Crawford, *RRC*, 494, nos. 44a, 44b, 45, and 46. Crawford does not explain the Ceres type. Le Bonniec believed these types reflected an appeal to the Roman plebs.

Demeter associated with the Golden Age would provide the world with the lawgiver and the purifier of temples, who was eventually understood to be Augustus.[323] Augustus' justice and piety would bring about the blessings of the gods expressed in the fertility of the land and sea. The connection between the piety of the ruler and fertility of his lands appears as early as Homer's *Odyssey*:

109 ὥς τέ τευ ἢ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅς τε θεουδὴς
110 ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσων
εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι, φέρῃσι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα
πυροὺς καὶ κριθάς, βρίθῃσι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῷ,
113 τίκτῃ δ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῦς.

19.109-13[324]

Augustus-Triptolemos, an initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries, belonged to this picture of the Golden Age ushered in by Ceres through Virgo. In the *Georgics* Vergil contemplated three possible assimilations for Augustus, once he becomes deified: Triptolemos, an unidentified sea divinity, or a constellation following close to Virgo.

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[320] *RRC*, aureus, 494/20a and denarius, no. 43a.

[321] *RRC*, aureus, 494/22 and 34.

[322] *RRC*, 494/35.

[323] Spaeth (1994) p. 88.

[324] "For a good, upright king who fears the gods and upholds justice, the black earth brings forth barley and wheat, the trees are heavy with fruit, the sheep have many lambs, the sea gives fish" (trans. W. H. D. Rouse).

24 *tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum*
25 *concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere, Caesar,*
terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis
auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
accipiat, cinges materna tempora myrto;
29 *an deus immensi venias maris . . .*
32 *anne novum tardes sidus te mensibus addes,*
quo locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes
panditur; ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
35 *Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit;*

G. 1.24-28, 32-35.[325]

By placing Augustus as a star after Virgo, and before the next constellation, Scorpio, Vergil presents Augustus as the ruler of the Golden Age, the "king from the sun" described in the *Oracula Sibillina*, a possible source of the Golden Age legend.[326] Even the very deification of Augustus, as a son of Demeter, is described here in the language of the Golden Age. According to Hesiod the men of the Golden Age did not die, rather they became disembodied divine spirits who roamed the air and served as blessed guardians (wardens) of men. Vergil's deified Augustus wears a myrtle wreath, a symbol of the initiates of Demeter. The name of the new god is not mentioned in the passage in the *Georgics*, yet neither is the sea god named—proposed as another assimilation in line 29—but the title "*auctor frugum*" is a certain indication that the poet had Triptolemos in mind. The third possibility, a new constellation between Virgo and Scorpio (lines 31-35) is a very clear reference to astral immortality.

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[325] "You too, whatever place in the courts of the Immortals/ is soon to hold you-whether an overseer of cities/ and warden of earth you'll be, Caesar . . ./ So that the great world honours you as promoter/ of the harvest and powerful lord of the seasons,/ or whether as a god of the boundless sea/ garlanding your brow with your mother's myrtle."

[326] For a theory that each Hellenistic kingdom in turn, starting in 313 BC with the foundation of the Seleucid rule in Macedonia, then the Ptolemies between ca. 238 BC and 227 BC, and, finally, the Attalids in the mid-second century BC, turned to the doctrine of Magnus Annus and the new era, see Castriota (1995), pp. 125ff., and esp. p. 128, with bibliography.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMAGERY OF ELYSIUM AND THE GOLDEN AGE

One of the characteristic features of art under the Julio-Claudians was the popularity of vegetal, floral and fruit motifs which appear in garden scenes, flowering scrolls, fruit-and-leaf swags, garlands and composite wreaths, as well as cornucopiae filled with fruit. These symbols of abundance begin to appear sporadically in the second century BC, become fashionable about the second half of the first century BC, increase in number after 30 BC, and enjoy widespread popularity during the Julio-Claudian era.

To a degree these motifs reflected the hope for the return of the peaceful and prosperous Golden Age, a theme inherited from Ptolemaic Alexandria and developed under the victorious Augustus. This new era was prophesied and lauded by Vergil in the fourth *Eclogue*, the first *Georgic*, and in the *Aeneid*;[327] by Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare*, and the fourth book of *Odes*,[328] and by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*.[329] The land chosen for the arrival of the Golden Age was Rome. In Vergil's *Aeneid* Latium was called Hesperia, and was once ruled by Saturn.[330] To this country Augustus was to bring the Golden Age again: *Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis/ Augustus Caesar, divi genus: aurea condet/saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva/ Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos/ proferet imperium.*

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[327] See the *Aen.* 1.293-296 and 6.791-800 for the end of the wars under Augustus.

[328] *Carm.* 4.4.37-40.

[329] 15.95-102.

[330] *Aen.* 6.792-94.

The concentration of symbols of fertility, death and rebirth, most of them associated with Demeter, but also with Dionysos and Apollo, reflected, however, not only the *aurea aetas* but also some contemporary views on afterlife, especially Elysium, the realm of those mortals who had acquired immortality. This type of polysemantic imagery was certainly associated with the Augustan propaganda of the Golden Age,[331] and through multiple and complex associations with the idea of acquired immortality it also prepared the ground for the ruler cult of the first Julio-Claudians. The rise and popularity of this imagery was stimulated first in the Hellenistic world, and then in Rome of the first century BC, by the revival of the eclectic Pythagorean, Orphic-based religious philosophy,[332] which seems to have penetrated the mystery cults, including that of Demeter. For obvious reasons the mystery cults and the philosophical systems had little or no iconography of their own. As the need for visual expression of what was becoming the most popular type of religion increased, various symbols were used. Plants, flowers and fruits, which had acquired very precise associations with various gods and myths could be applied as effectively as the birds (swans, doves and eagles) or the mythic creatures such as griffins, sphinxes, *ketoi* and centaurs. While the birds and the fantastic animals served to symbolize vehicles transporting the soul to (a variously situated)[333] Elysium, the fruit-and-flower swags, especially when placed on funeral altars, symbolized Elysium as the realm of the initiates and the deserving benefactors of mankind. The Golden Age used the same visual symbols as the imagery of Elysium, which was natural since Elysium was often identified with the Islands of the Blessed, a remnant of the Golden Age, ruled by Cronos/Saturn. In the poetry of Horace the Islands of the Blessed are often called *beata arva* ("Blessed Fields"),[334] a term close to the *sedesque beatas* ("abodes of the blessed") used by Vergil in the *Aeneid*[335] for Elysium. Horace, in *Epode* 16, describes the Islands of the Blessed as the place of escape for righteous Romans.[336] There *tellus inarata* yields *Ceres*/corn, vines, olives and figs, while honey flows from the oaks. The flock needs no shepherd, no wild dangerous animals or snakes threaten the inhabitants of the land which remains in perpetual health, prosperity and peace, untouched by sin. In Horace's poetic vision the Islands, the hidden remnant of the Golden Age world, are reserved for the pious by Jupiter himself.[337] Descriptions of Elysium/the Islands of the Blessed in Greek literature, well-known to the Romans of the Augustan Age, do not differ from those of the Earth during the Golden Age. In Homer Elysium is the place for the relatives of the gods.[338] Menelaos knows that, as a son-in-law of Zeus, after death he will go to Elysium, situated at the ends of the world, beyond the Ocean, a place without snow and storms, ruled by Rhadamanthus.

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[331] Kleiner, p. 92.

[332] For the religious and philosophic currents of the late Republic see Rawson (1985) p. 291ff.

[333] See Cumont, *Afterlife*, p. 156ff., and J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971) pp. 36–38. Toynbee notices a number of other fantastic animals believed to transport the souls to the Islands of the Blessed: sea-bulls, sea-lions, sea-griffins, sea-centaurs.

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[334] Hor. *Epod.* 16.41-42, *nos manet oceanus circumvagus; arva/ beata petamus arva divites et insulas.*

[335] *Aen.* 6.639.

[336] In view of the civil strife which had plagued Rome for two generations—the *Epodes* were written before 29 BC.

[337] *Epod.* 16.63ff., *Iuppiter illa piae secrevit litora genti,/ ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;/ aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula,/ quorum piis secunda vate me datur fuga,* "Iuppiter set apart these shores for a righteous folk, ever since with bronze he dimmed the lustre of the Golden Age./ With bronze and then with iron did he harden the ages, from which a happy escape is offered to the righteous, if my prophecy be heeded." Trans. C. E. Bennett. Loeb Classical Library.

[338] *Od.* 4.561-570

In Hesiod[339] some heroes of the Age of Heroes are sent to the Islands of the Blessed, ruled by Cronos. There they live carefree in perpetual peace, and earth produces honey-sweet fruit for them three times a year—apples, pears, pomegranates rather than grain, which is also called *karpos*, but is never described as honey-sweet. Hesiod's Islands of the Blessed look thus very much like the earth during the Golden Age, which is also ruled by Cronos, and where the land produces fruit in abundance and by itself.[340] In Pindar,[341] Rhadamanthus rules the Island of the Blest where Peleus, Cadmus and Achilles live, as well as those who kept their souls free from sin through three life cycles. The Island is also the place where the golden flowers grow among the trees. It may belong to the place of special bliss (as in the case of the Garden of the Hesperides with the golden apple tree, or belong to a person like Alcaeus[342] playing the lyre with a golden plectrum in Elysium). It may help one achieve it (as in the case of the golden bough which allowed Aeneas to visit Elysium, the place to which he, the hero, was to return, or Heracles, who is often shown in art with the golden apples of the Hesperides in his hand[343]). The motif of the golden object unified the picture of the Golden Age and Elysium/the Islands of the Blessed. Through her participation in the ideology and imagery of the Golden Age, and as the goddess of the Mysteries,[344] Ceres underwent a significant transformation from the goddess of the plebs into the goddess of the intellectuals and philosophers, from the divinity who fed the Romans to the divinity who immortalized them.

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[339] *Op*. 167-173.

[340] *Op*. 116-117.

[341] *O*. 2.70.

[342] Hor. *Carm*. 2.13.21-32.

[343] See Appendix 1, p. 186 under *Apple* (see Comparanda 53-C).

[344] See p. 39 above.

Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta

The Garden Room in the House of Livia at Prima Porta is probably the most representative monument for the imagery of the Golden Age/Elysium, filled as it is with the symbolism of Demeter/Ceres. It measures 12 m long x 6 m wide, and all its walls are decorated in the later Second Style. As Roger Ling[345] remarks, the representation of the garden at Prima Porta is unique for two reasons: firstly because there is no earlier tradition of garden painting on such a scale in Roman art, and secondly because the creator of the garden did not paint any structural supports (columns, windows, etc.) typical of the Second Style paintings.[346] The dense grove is shown on two planes, the foreground and the background. The trees, shrubs, fruit, flowers and birds in the foreground are painted in great detail. On each wall all the trees but one are covered with fruit, and all the flowers are blooming. The plants in the background are treated more impressionistically, with bold strokes of the brush, the degree of detail receding into the background. The garden is separated from the viewer by means of two low barriers: in front there is a partially transparent wicker fence; behind it, a solid low white stone wall.[347] The ground between the two is almost bare, except for a few small widely-spaced shrubs, and a prominent tree in a recess in the centre of the white wall. This tree carries no fruit. The motif seems to have been repeated on each wall, although the trees differ.[348] The trees and shrubs painted in the foreground of the garden behind the white wall are spruce, holm oak, pine, cypress, palm, pomegranate, quince, oleander, laurel, myrtle, box, and viburnum. The central, fruitless, tree in the recess between the two enclosures differs. On the north side it is a pine; on the east a spruce, and on the south an oak. The importance given to the fruitless tree, emphasised by the contrast with the fertility behind the white wall, gives its fruitlessness a special significance. The tree may have played a ritual role comparable to that of the *lygos/castus agnus* in the rites of the Thesmophoria, described by Ovid and Pliny.[349] Among the flowers and smaller plants there are roses, violets, poppies, periwinkles, chrysanthemums, daisies, ivy, iris, ferns and acanthus. The birds too may have had some symbolic significance, but they lie outside the scope of this thesis.

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[345] Ling (1991) p. 150.

[346] The nearest parallel is in the so-called Auditorium of Maecenas, another underground chamber in which the apse was decorated with pine trees behind lattice fences in a series of painted niches. The paintings have not survived: W. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii.* 2 Vols. (New Rochelle, 1979-1993) vol. 2, pp. 384-5.

The plants share a number of common characteristics. The vast majority of the trees and bushes are evergreens: this can be said with certainty of the cypress, holm oak, spruce, palm, viburnum, box, myrtle, oleander and laurel. The only exception is the quince which bears apple-shaped fruit of a rich orange/yellow colour. Apple-shaped fruit is also produced by the pomegranate tree. With the exception of poppies all the flowers are perennials: roses, violets, chrysanthemums, and irises. So too are the other plants: the ferns, periwinkles, acanthus and ivy. No grain bearing plant, or narcissus or hyacinth is painted there. Many of the plants have fragrant flowers or leaves: this is true of the roses, violets, iris, laurel, myrtle and *castus agnus*. The golden coloured fruit of the quince has a strong aroma when ripe.

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[347] The motif of the wicker fence separating a garden from the viewers is common enough (cf. e.g. Jashemski (1979-1993) vol. 1, pp. 55-87) but this example of a double enclosure with a solid barrier enclosing the garden is unique.

[348] C. Calci and G. Messino, *La Villa di Livia a Prima Porta* (Roma, 1984) p. 10, fig. 3.

[349] See Appendix 1 under plants. I am grateful to Prof. R. Fowler for comments which have helped me to identify the tree. Branches of *castus agnus* were put under the beds of women who participated in the Thesmophoria, to help them preserve sexual abstinence during the rites.

Some of these plants and trees bear many-seeded fruit in the form of apples, pomegranates, and the cones of the spruce or pine. All the trees are shown fruiting, and all the flowers blooming at the same time, although in actuality they flower and fruit at different periods. Vergil in his poetic vision of the Golden Age says: *omnis ferat omnia tellus*.[350] Moreover, the trees and plants represented in the Garden Room share the same space, regardless of their natural preferences for shade or moisture or for sun and comparatively dry soil. The birds too have been "collected" without regard for their normal habitat.

These characteristics - the permanence of the fruiting and flowering season, the perpetual fertility and the wondrous beauty of colours, scents and sounds - are found also in Pompeiian wall paintings. In them, however, the iconography connects the gardens with specific cults, of Venus, Isis, Dionysus and Orpheus, mostly associated with mysteries.[351] In Livia's garden at Prima Porta there is no divinity represented, and no artificial elements are there except for the man-made enclosures.

Her garden is more reminiscent of the sacred grove of Demeter described in

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[350] *Ecl.* 4.38, "All lands shall bear all things."

[351] Jashemski, loc. cit.

Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, which contained pines, large elms, pear trees,[352] and fair sweet apple trees.[353] In the very centre of this grove was a giant poplar,[354] which in Ovid's rendition of the same story is an oak.[355] Demeter was "as madly fond of the place as of Eleusis."[356] This unusual combination of trees, some of them bearing fruit and some, especially the poplar, symbolizing the Underworld,[357] often escapes the notice of scholars.[358] Was the grove of Demeter in the *Hymn* of Callimachus a counterpart to the Garden of the Hesperides, itself similar to the *Elysium* where the initiates of Demeter eventually went? The garden of the Hesperides was usually placed in the West, beyond Oceanus,[359] and has golden apples[360] just as the Island of the Blessed in Pindar had golden flowers. The abundant nature of the grove of Demeter, the Garden of the Hesperides and the Islands of the Blessed may have found its reflection in the Roman funerary gardens, which are described by J.

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[352] *Pyrus communis* associated with the apple. See N. Hopkinson. *Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge, 1984) commentary on line 27, p. 104.

[353] *Glykomala, pyrus praecox*, an apple grafted on a quince, not found in Greece (Hopkinson, op. cit. commentary on line 28).

[354] Callim. *Cer.* 25-30, trans. Hopkinson, op. cit.

[355] *Met.* 8.755.

[356] Callim. *Cer.* 25, trans. as above.

[357] Guthrie (1935) p. 182. See also Burkert (1987) p. 100, no. 67.

[358] Hopkinson associates the grove with the idyllic images of Homer's *Odyssey*: the gardens of Alcinous and the cave of Calypso. See Callim. *Cer.*, p. 5, op. cit.

[359] Hes. *Th.* 215-16.

[360] Hes. *Th.* 335. See also Sil. 3.282-83, *quin et Massyli fulgentia signa tulere, / Hesperidum ueniens lucis domus ultima terrae*, and the Orphic fr. 34.2.

Toynbee.[361] The gardens had a variety of fruit trees, vineyards, and vegetable gardens as well as flowering bushes and flowers growing in the same area. The convention of establishing such gardens came from Alexandria, as epigraphic, papyrological and literary sources attest.[362] The influence of Alexandrian culture certainly intensified after the conquest of Egypt by Octavian in 30 BC.

The Garland, Swag or Wreath

A Condensed Version of the Mystical Garden

Simple wreaths and garlands made of one or two specific plants or flowers enjoyed popularity throughout the Mediterranean from the Classical period onwards until a real "garlandomania" began in the Hellenistic Age. Wreaths worn by ordinary individuals on different occasions begin to appear in art from the fourth century on. Thompson believes the fashion spread from Egypt.[363] The garlands and swags used as painted or relief decorations probably also originated in that country,[364] although their wide and sudden popularity in later Hellenistic art is not explained in the literature on the subject.[365] Some simple garlands are found in Apulian red-figure vase painting.[366] The composite garland which consists of various flowers was known to the South Italian Greeks as early as the fourth century BC, for a garland of this kind is shown held by a worshipper standing next to a temple (with wheat stalks growing inside) on an Apulian red-figure vase in St. Petersburg. This is, however, an early and isolated example of this type of decoration in South Italy.[367] Garlands are known in the second century BC art of Pergamon and other parts of the Hellenistic world as architectural decoration.[368] From there the fashion spread to Italy where fruit-and-leaf garlands, often suspended from bucrania, became the prevalent decoration on funerary altars from the mid-first century BC onwards.

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[361] Toynbee, *Death and Burial* (1971) pp. 95ff.

[362] Toynbee, *op. cit.* p. 95.

[363] Thompson (1963) pp. 44-46.

[364] On the early garlands in the New Kingdom tomb painting and possible continuation of this fashion in third-century Alexandria, with references to earlier literature, see E. J. Walters, "Attic grave reliefs that represent women in the dress of Isis," *Hesperia*, Sup. 12. American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Princeton, 1988); for the use of garlands see Thompson (1973) pp. 37 and 71.

[365] Walters (op. cit.) p. 27, admits that garlands decorated votive and funerary altars but she adds that "the origin of these customs is unknown."

The first example of a composite wreath in Roman art (with one ear of barley, one ear of wheat and assorted fruits) appears on a coin in conjunction with the cornucopia (which is superimposed on a thunderbolt) on the reverse of the denarius of Quintus Fabius Maximus of 127 BC.[369] According to Mobius and Alföldi it is an Alexandrian motif.[370] The composite wreath is repeated on a denarius of 82-80 BC with the head of Apollo on the obverse.[371] I believe[372] both the cornucopia and the composite wreath were symbols of immortality and Elysium/the Golden Age. Garlands consisting of foliage, flowers and fruits of all seasons appear in Roman art of the Late Republic and become extremely popular during the time of the principate of Augustus.[373] In sepulchral art they decorate funeral altars and tombstones. In non-sepulchral art, composite garlands could be used to decorate votive altars, as in the relief decoration on the inner wall of the Ara Pacis. Painted garlands consisting of swags of fruit and leaves were represented suspended between two columns in the right ala of the House of Livia[374] on the Palatine, in the context of an Egyptianizing landscape dated to soon after 30 BC.

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[366] As on the Apulian red figure vase dated to 440 BC (tubular garland, probably of myrtle twigs, decorating the temple in Eleusis — the name of Eleusis is inscribed): *LIMC*, s.v. "Herakleidai," no. 9.

[367] Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Ceres," fig. no. 1308.

[368] In the context of a sacrificial scene, a decoration of the Hellenistic propylon of the Sanctuary of Athena. See Kleiner, p. 90.

[369] *RRC*, no. 265. 1) denarius with the head of Roma on the obverse, 2) semis with the head of Saturnus on the obverse, 3) quadrans with the head of Hercules on the obverse.

[370] H. Mobius, "Alexandria und Rom" *Abh. München* 59 (1964) p. 27, and Alföldi (1973) p. 584ff. The Alexandrian origin of the motif of thunderbolt with cornucopia is rejected by Crawford without argument (*RRC*, 1, p. 290).

[371] *RRC*, no. 371.

The swags and garlands on votive altars and funeral monuments alike offered the "compressed" equivalent of Elysium/the Golden Age. Its unearthly character is shown in the form of an ever-flourishing, fruitful garden, like that depicted in the Garden Room of Livia. An even more miniaturized version of the Elysian garden or fruit-and-flower swag was a composite wreath worn by a person. Such composite wreaths consisting of ears of grain, olive, oak or laurel leaves, poppy pods, poppy flowers, fruits, acorns and nuts were worn by imperial women, assimilated to Ceres. It is characteristic that in art these wreaths are worn only by the Julio-Claudian women, and especially by Livia, wife of Augustus during whose principate this type of imagery takes root in Roman art. To Horace (*Odes* 1.38) a wreath woven on linden

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[372] For the discussion of plants in the garlands see Appendix 1, p. 178ff.

[373] Altmann believes the first garlands in Republican Italy belong to the same period as the second style in wall painting, but he dates the first fruit-and-flower swags containing pomegranates and ears of grain to the Augustan period (p. 61, no. 1). Swags suspended from the heads of Ammon set on corners are dated by him to the reign of Tiberius (p. 88).

[374] Ling (1991) p. 142.

bast is an oriental (Persian) luxury. The poet prefers a wreath of simple myrtle. Most of the wreaths described by Horace are indeed fashioned from one plant: poplar (*Odes* 1.7.23), parsley (*Odes* 4.23), ivy, (*Odes* 1.1.29), myrtle (*Odes* 1.38), or roses (*Odes* 2.7.23-25). The wreath of Alexis described by Vergil in *Eclogue* 2 is the closest literary counterpart of the composite wreaths worn by the imperial Julio-Claudian women. It was woven with lilies, narcissus, hyacinth, poppy heads, quinces, chestnuts, plums, laurel and myrtle (see Appendix One).

Cornucopia

The cornucopia filled with fruit, flowers and leaves is yet another iconographic device related to the Golden Age/Elysian imagery and through it, also to the concept of immortality and the ruler cult. I believe that the cornucopia belongs to the same category of compressed symbols of the Golden Age/Elysian Garden as the fruit-flower-leaf swags and the composite fruit-flower-leaf wreaths worn by the women assimilated to Demeter/Ceres under the Julio-Claudians. In myth the cornucopia is associated either with Amalthea, whose horn was miraculously filled with fruit by Zeus, grateful for her nursing on Crete (while Amalthea herself became a constellation and, thus achieved immortality),[375] or with Achelous, the river god who lost his horn when wrestling with Heracles over Deianira.[376] In the latter aetiology Achelous's horn was filled by the Naiads with flowers and fruit and made sacred (*sacrarunt*). Then it passed into the hands of Copia (Plenty).

In early Greek myth the cornucopia is associated with Demeter through

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[375] Ov. *Fast.* 5.115.

[376] Ov. *Met.* 9.82-91.

Ploutos/Wealth, her son by Iasion.[377] According to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, the goddess and her daughter send Ploutos to the homes of those they love (probably the initiates).[378] Diodoros[379] refers to Demeter as *Ploutodoteira.*[380] In iconography, especially pre-classical, Ploutos/Wealth is not easily distinguished from Plouton/Hades, the chthonic husband and ravisher of Kore/Persephone. It is possible that Ploutos as wealth was originally an aspect of the chthonic Plouton/Hades who sometimes represented the wealth of the bountiful earth rather than the sterile realm of the dead below the earth. Early representations of Ploutos (or Plouton in this case) show him as an old man with white hair,[381] as on the hydria in the British Museum dated to ca. 450 BC on which he is shown holding a sceptre and a cornucopia filled with a poppy and poppy leaves (or ears of grain). Ploutos may also be shown holding an empty cornucopia.[382] On a pelike in Athens dated to ca. 450 BC,[383] the god is spilling ears of grain or poppy leaves[384] from a large cornucopia brimming with pomegranates or poppy heads. He is facing Demeter holding a plough and sceptre. On an Attic red- figure amphora from Nola showing Plouton and Persephone, dated to

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[377] Hes. *Th.* 969

[378] *H. Cer.* 488.

[379] Diod. 1.12.4.

[380] Bianchi, p. 20, n.15.

[381] Bianchi, no.14; *LIMC*, s.v. "Hades," no. 39.

[382] *LIMC*, s.v. "Hades," no. 44.

[383] Bianchi, no.15.

[384] Bianchi sees here poppy leaves, Metzger drops of liquid. See Bianchi, p. 20.

480/70 BC,[385] he holds a cornucopia filled with grapes (two bunches) and a pine cone (?).

In Hellenistic art Ploutos is considerably younger. On a fourth century BC Attic red-figure hydria from Rhodes Ploutos, the infant, is handed over, sitting on a cornucopia, to Demeter by Ge.[386] On a pelike in the Hermitage, dated to 340-330 BC, he is a youth holding a cornucopia, standing next to Demeter.[387] A fragment of an Attic red-figure lekanis from Athens, dated to the second half of the fourth century, shows a youthful Ploutos, wreathed with grain-ears, holding a cornucopia, with two huge grain stalks growing between himself and the enthroned, sceptred Demeter.[388] Zeus Meilichios,[389] a chthonic deity close in character to Ploutos, was often represented with a cornucopia. For the purpose of this study two iconographic elements connected with Ploutos are important: the cornucopia, which through the myth of Ploutos/Wealth remains indirectly associated with Demeter, and the type of a child holding or sitting on the cornucopia—from this last type evolved a head of a child showing above the rim of the cornucopia, used in representations of Julio-Claudian women (see Chapter 5, below).

Tyche and Dionysos were early represented with a cornucopia as well.

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[385] Bianchi, no.13; *LIMC*, s.v. "Hades," no. 20.

[386] Bianchi, no. 3.

[387] Bianchi, no.1. The vase was found in a woman's tomb near Pantikapaion on the Black Sea. It seems that the iconographical transformations of Ploutos follow the same pattern as those of Eros—from the cosmic power visualized as a mature man, Eros was gradually reduced in art to a youth, then to a chubby child.

[388] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," p. 877, no. 402.

[389] As on the relief from the Piraeus, dated to 308/307 BC. See Mitropoulos (Athens, 1977) p.113.

Pausanias describes the statue of Tyche at Pharae wearing a polos and holding *the horn of Amalthea* dating back to the sixth century BC.[390] The type of Tyche with the infant Ploutos (sometimes seated on her left shoulder) holding a cornucopia developed in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic Period.[391] The chthonic Dionysos holding the cornucopia appears on a lead sheet from Montagna di Marzo.[392] In the iconography of Dionysos the cornucopia may have developed from the rhyton[393] but it was essentially the symbol of the god's powers of fertility. Athenaeus describes the procession honouring Dionysus (or the Ptolemies) in 276 BC in Ptolemaic Alexandria.[394] Among the Satyrs and Sileni walked a man, who personified *the Year* and was bearing a golden horn of Amalthea. He was closely followed by the Four Seasons, the *Horai*.[395] In another fragment Athenaeus[396] describes a double cornucopia (*dikeras*) carried in the procession along with attributes of various gods: the gilded palm trees, a gilded herald's staff, a gilded thunderbolt, etc.

Arsinoe II, the wife of Philadelphos, was the first Ptolemaic queen to be worshipped during her lifetime,[397] and the first queen represented with the cornucopia - in this case a *dikeras* or double cornucopia. It is possible that her unprecedented deification was facilitated by the fact that she had been initiated to the Great Gods of Samothrace.[398] Her images with the *dikeras* were ordered by the king himself.[399] It is significant that it was also Philadelphos who introduced the ruler cult of the Ptolemaic dynasty.[400] The cornucopia symbolized the divine status of the royal women[401] from then on since the Ptolemaic queens were represented holding the cornucopia on the oinochoae used in the ruler cult.[402] These cornucopiae were usually filled with apples and pomegranates (showing just above the brim);[403] Sometimes a cluster or two of grapes was attached separately. A tall, pointed pyramidal sacrificial cake was common at the beginning but soon it was replaced with two or three[404] indistinct but long ears of grain. While the grapes associated the queens with the Ptolemaic mythical ancestor Dionysus, the spikes of grains associated them with Demeter/Isis.

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[390] Paus. 4.30. It was a statue made by Boupalos of Chios for Smyrna.

[391] T. Hadzisteliou Price, *Kourotrophos: cults and representations of the Greek nursing deities* (Leiden, 1978) p. 49, no. 493.

[392] Holloway (1991) p. 65, fig. 80.

[393] Daremberg-Saglio. s.v. "Cornucopia," p. 1516.

[394] Athenaeus, *Deipnosphistae* 197c, in Politt (1966) pp. 36ff.

[395] Compare the silver plate of Aquilea (Comparanda 21-C) with Triptolemos, Demeter and the Seasons.

[396] Athenaeus, *Deipnosphistae*, Sec. 202b.

[397] Thompson (1973) p. 56.

The double cornucopiae which appear very frequently on the second century Coan cylindrical funeral altars probably signify life/immortality and death, because in one of them an apple or pomegranate is represented and in the other a poppy head.

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[398] Thompson, loc. cit., p. 4.

[399] Thompson, loc. cit., p.32; Athenaeus 11.497 b-c.

[400] Thompson (1973) p. 3.

[401] As supposed by Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Cornucopia," p. 1517, for whom cornucopiae "*s'en emparent également comme du symbol essentiel de la déification.*"

[402] The cornucopia of Arsinoe II was a *dikeras*, a double cornucopia. See Thompson (1973) p. 32.

[403] See Thompson, loc. cit., p. 8.

[404] Thompson, loc. cit., pl. 16.42.

The *dikeras* was set against the fruit and leaf swags, which in funeral art very clearly, I think, represent the hope of immortality and Elysium. It is characteristic that in each case where the *dikeras* with the fruit swag is represented, the swag contains ears of grain and poppy flowers, and the rim of the altar is decorated with poppy flowers stylized as rosettes. Double cornucopia types of altars always have a rosette fascia or rosettes combined with a stylized thunderbolt. The typical decoration of this type has the *dikeras* set against the pendulous swag of fruit and leaves suspended from fleshy bucrania. In each case one cornucopia has a poppy or a pomegranate showing above the rim, the other an apple.[405] A single cluster of grapes hangs from the rim between them,[406] and very prominent poppy flowers are shown in the wreath. Stylized rosettes decorate the area below the rim. Rosettes and cornucopiae decorate the upper band under the rim of Coan altars.[407] The poppy pod, rosette, poppy flowers, and ears of grain certainly symbolized the powers of Demeter. A single cornucopia which has been placed in the upper-right corner of the second- century BC Smyrnean relief stelae of a priestess of Demeter,[408] placed on a pillar, depicted on the left hand side of the representation of the deceased woman (and on the other side by a large initiation torch) must have the same significance, that is, of immortality through initiations and by service to the goddess.

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[405] Comparanda 35-C–37-C.

[406] Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 79c. See also fig. 78c, 79a, and 79b for the altars with *dikeras* on Cos and Halikarnassos.

[407] Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 80a and 79d.

[408] Smith (1991) fig. 220. I disagree with Smith, certainly in the case of the priestess of Demeter from Smyrna (pp. 188-89), that a cornucopia on a funerary relief signifies wealth in the same way that a jewel box does (see Comparanda 33-C).

In late Hellenistic and Imperial times the cornucopia became very popular as an attribute not only of Dionysos and Tyche but also of Tellus, Euthenia, Eirene, Nile, Graeco-Roman Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrates and Heracles, the Junos and Geniuses, the Lares and Penates as well as of countless personifications, especially of Annona.[409] On Republican coins the cornucopia appears first in 207 BC as a mint mark,[410] and from 127 BC as a coin type, at first infrequently used. The coin of Quintus Fabius Maximus of 127 BC[411] has a reverse with the cornucopia on a thunderbolt, within a composite wreath of barley ears, wheat ears, and assorted fruits. In 107 BC both the double and single cornucopia appear as coin types.[412] A *denarius serratus* of 70 BC struck by Q. Fufius Calenus and Mucius Cordus Scaevola shows *Italia* with a cornucopia on the reverse.[413]

In the second half of the first century BC and at the beginning of the Principate the frequency with which the cornucopia appeared in numismatic art increased significantly. This is the same period when the fruit-and-leaf swags and composite wreaths enjoy the highest popularity as well. In 46 BC a denarius of T. Carisius has a cornucopia on the globe on the reverse. Fortuna with cornucopia appears on a denarius struck in 42 BC for Mark Antony[414] and Octavian.[415] Pietas with a cornucopia is shown on an aureus of Antony struck in 41 BC.[416] In 40 BC a denarius struck for Mark Antony has a reverse type with a caduceus between two cornucopiae.[417] In Imperial times (32-29 BC) several Roman denarii show Pax with an olive branch and the cornucopia.[418] Some cistophori of Augustus struck in Ephesus, ca. 25 BC, have the reverse type with Capricorn (the zodiacal sign of Augustus) bearing a cornucopia on his back.[419] In one case the cornucopia is shown filled with spikes of grain and a single grape.[420] In 9 BC the cornucopia, containing a pyramidal sacrificial cake[421] in the middle with two apples/pomegranates on each side, appears as a reverse type on Augustan quadrantes.[422]

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[409] See a sestertius of Nero, dated to 62-68 AD, *RIC* I, p. 159, no. 9, pl. 18. Its reverse: Ceres seated and veiled, holding grain-ears in her left hand and a torch in the right, facing Annona standing, right hand resting on her hip and left holding a cornucopia (cat. no. 46-fig.).

[410] *RRC*, no. 58.

[411] *RRC*, no. 265. Above, p. 85.

[412] Double—*RRC*, no. 308/4a, with the head of Roma on the obverse; single—*RRC*, no. 308/5, with the head of Diana on the obverse.

[413] With a caduceus behind her, facing Roma with fasces, her foot on a globe (*RRC*, no. 403).

[414] *RRC*, no. 494/32.

The iconography of Augustus includes his statue as Genius carrying the horn of plenty filled with fruits and wearing a toga, dated to 12 BC.[423] Among Tiberian coin types there is a sestertius with two crossed cornucopiae with two heads of little

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[415] *RRC*, no. 494/33.

[416] *RRC*, no. 516/4.

[417] *RRC*, no. 520.

[418] *RIC* I, no. 252.

[419] *RIC* I, p. 80, no. 477. The same type appeared on the cistophori of Pergamum in 27—26 BC (*RIC* I, p. 81, no. 488).

[420] *RIC* I, no. 493/9, Pergamum.

[421] For cakes of wheat and honey eaten during the sacrificial feasts see Thompson, (1973) p. 32.

[422] *RIC* I, p. 74, no. 422.

[423] In the Vatican. See J. J. Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikonographie*, III, pp. 31 and 71, no. 16. For the cornucopia as an attribute of the Genius of Augustus see Heidi Schäfer, "Die Ikonographie des Genius Augusti," in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. A. Small. *JRS* Sup. No. 17 (Ann Arbor, 1996), p. 92.

boys,[424] derived from the type of Ploutos (see above p. 88). Several statues of imperial women represent them bearing the cornucopia (cat. nos. 76-fig. and 75-fig.). The early imperial cornucopiae are not merely filled with fruit to the brim like the Ptolemaic ones, but the fruit, ears of grain, leaves, flowers and grapes spill from them in obvious and unprecedented abundance as, for example, in the statue of Livia (cat. no. 78-fig.).

I believe that in the assimilations of the imperial women the cornucopia played the double role of a symbol of fertility of the coming Golden Age (which included the hope of human fertility as well) and of a symbol of deification, borrowed from the Ptolemaic tradition, with the promise of the abundance of the Islands of the Blessed/Elysium. In each case when the cornucopia contained ears of grain, the association with Demeter/Ceres, the goddess of deified initiates was established.

Demeter/Ceres and Tellus

One of the deities, associated with Demeter/Ceres and very early shown with the cornucopia, is **Ge/Tellus**. A red-figure hydria from Rhodes in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul,[425] dated to ca. 360 BC shows Ge emerging from the ground, holding a sceptre and a cornucopia with an infant sitting on it. On the east frieze of the Great Altar from Pergamon (ca. 180 BC) Ge is also shown emerging from the ground (waist up), with her hands raised. Behind her is a cornucopia filled with a pine cone, pomegranate, an apple and some grapes.[426] In the late Hellenistic period

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[424] *RIC* I, p. 97, no. 42, pl. 11; Rome, date 14-37 AD.

[425] *LIMC* IV/I, s.v. "Ge," no. 28.

[426] E. Schmidt, *The Great Altar at Pergamon* (Leipzig, 1961) pls. 10-11.

Tellus begins to be represented as a reclining or seated woman, half nude (when reclining), often accompanied by two infants and often holding the cornucopia. Tellus is one of the deities who early appropriates the wreath of grain-ears of Ceres. In the program of Augustus' new religious ideology, the Roman Ge/Tellus, a divinity very closely associated with Ceres in cult, become Terra Mater.[427] She had an important place in the celebrations of the *Ludi Seculares*. Tellus on the Prima Porta statue of Augustus has a cornucopia as well as the wreath of grain-ears and is accompanied by two children (Comparanda 58-C). Tellus with Demeter/Ceres appears on a silver plate from Aquilea (Comparanda 21-C); on the wall painting with the scene of the Mission of Triptolemos in the Casa del Fornaio in Pompeii (cat. no. 31) where she is represented with two children; on a relief from Aphrodisias (cat. no. 38) in which she is shown reclining on a heap of fruit at the feet of Ceres, (presumably) who is standing with a torch in hand; and on a cameo in which Claudius/ Triptolemos and Agrippina II are represented riding the snake chariot (cat. no. 116-fig.).

Demeter/Ceres' closeness or even identity with earth/Tellus is emphasized especially in the philosophical/religious treatises of the first century BC. Cicero repeats after Chrysippus[428] *Iam vero Chrysippus . . . adisputat aethera esse eum quem homines Iovem appellarent, quique aer per maria maneret eum esse Neptunum, terramque eam esse quae Ceres diceretur,* "Chrysippus . . . argues that the god whom men call Jupiter is the aether, and that Neptune is the air which pervades the sea, and the goddess who is called Ceres is the earth," and elsewhere,[429] *sed tamen his fabulis* [the Gigantomachy etc.] *spretis ac repudiatis deus pertinens per naturam cuiusque rei, per terras Ceres per maria Neptunus alii per alia, poterunt intellegi qui qualesque sint, quoque eos nomine consuetudo noncupaverit, hos eos et venerari et colere debemus*, "but though repudiating these fables with contempt, we shall nevertheless be able to understand the character and nature of the divinities pervading the substance of various elements, Ceres the earth, Neptune the sea, and so on: and it is our duty to venerate and worship these gods under the names which tradition has conferred upon them." Varro, too equates Tellus with Ceres *"nec sine causa terram eandem appellabant matrem et Cererem."*[430]

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[427] T. Gesztelyi, "Terra Mater in der Religionspolitik des Augustus" *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 17-18 (1981-82) pp. 141-47.

[428] *Nat. D.* 1.15.39-40.

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[429] Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.28.71.

[430] Varro, *Res Rust.* 3.1.5.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIVIA AS DEMETER/CERES

The advent of the empire resulted in the increased importance and heightened visibility of the Julio-Claudian family. Images (public and private) of the members of this family played an important part in the political propaganda of the age including the ruler cult, one of the most delicate issues of the Principate. The Julio-Claudian women traditionally were less overtly engaged in politics, so they were able to popularize this message on a far larger scale through their iconography than could the male members of the family. There is a marked difference between the vast number of images of the Julio-Claudian ladies shown *sub specie deae* and imperial men shown as gods.[431] Imperial women were represented as various goddesses, and they were imitated in these representations by lesser-born women. The most popular iconographic type chosen by the imperial women for their divine assimilations was Demeter/Ceres, who was unique in that her representations were not imitated by non-imperial women before the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[432]

The empress most often assimilated with Demeter/Ceres was unquestionably Livia Drusilla. Her choice of this particular goddess was the more important in that as the first empress of Rome and consort of the deified *princeps*, she set the example for all the empresses who followed.

Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Marcus Livius Drusus Claudianus and Aphidia. Her father Marcus was adopted into the family of the Livii, originally a plebeian *gens* with an impressive political history.[433] By birth, however, he (and through him, his daughter) was descended from Appius Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius Caecus, both of whom were members of the patrician branch of the Claudian *gens*. Born in 58 BC, Livia was married to Tiberius Claudius Nero in 43 BC. This union strengthened her links with the Claudians even more, since her husband was directly descended from Tiberius Claudius Nero, another son of Appius Claudius Caecus.[434]

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[431] Mikocki (1988) p. 23; Burnett, *RPC*, p. 47, in regard to the types of provincial coins.

[432] Werde (1981) pp. 67ff.

In 42 BC Livia became mother of Tiberius, the future Caesar. She was expecting her second child, Nero Claudius Drusus, when Augustus, at that time still named Octavian, took her away from her husband in 38 BC. She remained his wife, although not the mother of his child, until his death in 14 AD. Suetonius believed that Livia was the only woman whom Augustus loved.[435] The permanence of this marriage in an age when bonds of matrimony were often disregarded and used to forge changing alliances is surprising, especially since Livia provided no heir to Augustus who was gravely concerned with the problem of the succession, and had to resort to a series of ill-starred adoptions. During the long principate of Augustus Livia was granted numerous privileges such as *sacrosanctitas*, the right to dine with

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[433] Suet. *Tib*. 3. The ancestors of Livia took an active part in the agrarian dispute of the second century BC. Marcus Livius Drusus, consul of 147 BC, proposed the creation of twelve new colonies in Italy (with 3000 lots each) for the poorest citizens. Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune of the plebs in 91 BC, proposed more measures for the division of land and the distribution of grain. Livia's family tradition therefore linked her with the plebs and their patron goddess Ceres.

[434] Suet. *Tib*. 3.

[435] Suet. *Aug*. 62.

Augustus in the temple of Concordia,[436] and the right to have her statues erected. The *Ara Pacis* was dedicated on her birthday. Her influence was great, a fact emphasized unanimously by all ancient authors.[437] The list of privileges awarded her while Augustus was still living is long enough, yet those which she received after the death of her husband are unsurpassed by any ever granted to other Roman women.

In his will Augustus adopted Livia into the Julian *gens*, to which he belonged, and Livia became Julia Augusta. At the same time she was made the priestess of her deified husband. At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, Livia, then seventy-one, played a crucial role in the institution of the cult of the deified Augustus, on which the very legitimacy of Tiberius' rule depended. She stood by Augustus' pyre for five days after his funeral and, contrary to the custom which had a male heir perform the last rites, collected his bones to be put in a mausoleum. She also rewarded Numerius Atticus, a senator, who swore that he had seen Augustus ascending to heaven.[438] Along with Tiberius she initiated work on the temple of Divus Augustus[439] that was later dedicated by Gaius.[440] Tacitus states that Livia herself instituted Games to Divus Augustus.[441]

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[436] For the discussion of Livia's honours and a bibliography on the subject, see G. Grether, "Livia and the Roman Imperial cult," *AJP* 67 (1946) 222ff.

[437] Livia was consulted by Augustus (Suet. *Aug*. 84.2). He sought her opinion - in writing - on matters regarding the career of the members of the Imperial family (Suet. *Claud*. 4.1-6).

[438] Dio Cass. 16.46.1-4.

[439] Dio Cass. 56.46.3.

[440] Dio Cass. 59.7.

[441] Tac. *Ann*. 1.72-6.

Her initial[442] aggressive visibility on the political scene gradually declined as the succession stabilized and her age advanced. She remained important enough, however, for when she fell ill in 22 AD the senate decreed a *supplicatio* for her safety and an altar was vowed for her well-being.[443] At this time the first issue of Roman coins with her name (*Iulia Augusta*) was struck. In 27 AD a public birthday celebration for Livia, performed in Rome, was recorded in the *Acta* of the Arval Brothers for the first time.[444] In 29 AD she died at the age of eighty-six. She was not deified at the time, although the Senate decreed an arch for her,[445] an unprecedented honour for any Roman woman. Gaius who had his dead sister Drusilla deified by the Senate, failed to consecrate Livia. As a result, the first Roman Imperial woman to achieve the status of *Diva* was not the respected Livia but the much younger and far less honoured Drusilla. Twelve years later, however, in 41 AD, Livia was deified at the instigation of Claudius. She was preceded in this honour by three members of the Julian *gens*: Julius Caesar, Augustus and Drusilla. Upon her consecration she was officially referred to as *Diva Augusta*; the Vestal Virgins were required to sacrifice to her; and women were ordered to take oaths by her name. Her formal cult was quickly organized and was served by a woman priestess: a *flaminica* or *sacerdos*.[446]

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[442] Suet. *Tib.* 56.47 On Livia receiving the Senate and her clientele in her house, signing letters along with Tiberius, and receiving official communications addressed to herself and Tiberius alike see Suet. *Tib.* 57.12.2. In the same passage Suetonius implies that Livia was not satisfied with her share of power and that there were some who proposed various unusual privileges for her: a title *Mater Patriae* of *Parens Patriae* or even that Tiberius should be named after Livia/Julia Augusta. It is possible that behind the unusual idea of renaming Tiberius lay a desire to put even greater emphasis on the Julian origin of the Tiberian rule.

[443] Tac. *Ann.* 3.64. The altar, the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*, was dedicated after her death and consecrated by Claudius.

[444] Grether (1946) p. 237, notes that Tiberius rejected the honour for himself, likewise the title of *Augustus*. Livia received (and accepted) the title *Augusta* at the time of her husband's death.

[445] Suet. *Tib.* 58.2 The arch was never erected.

Private worship of Livia certainly preceded the official deification. Ovid owned silver busts of Julius Caesar, Augustus and Livia, and sacrificed to them.[447] The *Juno* of Livia was worshipped along with the *Genius* of Augustus or independently.[448] Images of Livia were put up in lararia.[449] In the West, at Emerita, Livia enjoyed a municipal cult in her lifetime. Permission was not needed for the erection of a municipal temple. This type of decision lay within the jurisdiction of the local civic authorities.[450]

In the Eastern provinces with their long tradition of ruler worship, Livia had a cult and priestesses much earlier, well before the date of her Roman consecration. She was associated in cult with the deified Augustus and in some localities shared a temple with him.[451]

My analysis of the assimilation of Livia to Demeter/Ceres is based on thirty-three representations: thirteen coins, seven cameos, three inscriptions from statue bases,[452] seven sculptured heads, and six full-size statues. The earliest of these objects date to the Augustan Age[453] four (or five) are Claudian[454], the rest (twenty-four or five) are Tiberian.[455] The number of those representations would probably increase if the diademed heads and some full-size statues of the empress, now believed to belong to Livia depicted as Juno/Hera, could be included. The type of the fourth century Classical Greek Ceres often wore the diadem and held the sceptre,[456] the typical attributes of Juno/Hera. In the absence of other surviving attributes it is often very difficult to distinguish between these goddesses, and since the diadem and sceptre are unquestionably attributes of Hera/Juno the assimilations which bear only those symbols have been left out of this study.[457]

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[446] Grether, op cit. p. 249.

[447] Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.

[448] Grether (1946) p. 227.

[449] G. K. Boyce, "Pompeian Lararia," *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* 14 (1937), p. 484.

[450] Fishwick, vol. 1, p. 155ff.

[451] Grether (1946) p. 251. She names Smyrna, Pergamum, Ancyra and Aezani.

[452] I do not discuss the whole body of inscriptions as they do not provide iconographic details relevant to my thesis. But the inscriptions are valuable as evidence for Livia's association with Ceres in her titulature. On an inscription from a marble statue base from the island of Gaulos near Malta, dated to 14-29 AD she is called CERES IULIA (*Cereri Iuliae Augustae / divi Augusti matri/ Ti Caesaris Augusti (----)*; *CIL* 10. 7501 = *ILS* 121; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 44, n. 4; H. Bartels, *Frauenportrat* (1963) 55. On two inscriptions she is called NEA ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ.

One comes from Aphrodisias, in Caria, and is dated to the reign of Tiberius or later (---) θεᾶς Ἰουλίας, νέας Δήμητρος; *CIG*, 2. 2815; Williams, *AJA* 6 (1902) 302ff; Reynolds, *ProcCambrPhilSoc*, 206 (1980) 79n 11; Grether, 1946, 241. The other is from Lampsaskos in Mysia, dated to the period after 14 AD, Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστήν / Ἑστίαν, νέαν Δήμη/τρα (---); *IGR* 4. 180; *CIG* 2. 3642; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 44 n. 4; Grether, (1946) 241.

[453] COINS: cat. nos. 56-fig., 64; HEADS: cat. nos. 66, 69; Baene statue (cat. no. 76-fig.).

[454] HEADS: cat. nos. 67-fig., 68; STATUES: cat. nos. 73-fig., 74.

[455] COINS: cat. nos. 53, 54-fig., 55, 57-fig., 58-fig., 59-fig., 60-fig., 61, 62, 63-fig., 65; HEADS: cat. nos. 70, 71, 72-fig.; STATUES: cat. nos. 75-fig., 77, 78-fig.; CAMEOS: cat. nos. 79-fig., 80-fig., 81, 82, 83-fig., 84-fig., 85-fig.

[456] As on the Ninion pinax from Eleusis dated to ca. 370 BC (*LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 392); see Comparanda 23-C.

[457] The other statues of Livia, which *may* assimilate her to Demeter or Juno are the marble statue from Paestum, now in Madrid (Museo Nacional de Aqueologia, no. 2. 737, dated to 20 - 29 AD) and the marble statue from the temple of Rome and Augustus in the forum of Leptis Magna (in the Archaeological Museum in Tripoli, dated to 14-19 AD). The height of the Paestum statue of Livia is 1.77 m, after the fifth century original and was seated on a throne with lion paws as legs. Both arms are missing. The head is veiled and was probably wreathed or diademed with the headdress attached. See Fittschen, Zanker (1983) 3.4 no. 4, 45 n.5; Gross, *Iulia Augustae*, pp. 114ff, pl. 23,2 and 25; Polaschek (1973) pp. 48ff. The Leptis Magna statue (2. 09 m, head 32.5 cm) has the left hand and right arm missing. She is wearing a high diadem over the hairdress with middle partition and a knot of hair at the back tied with a beaded fillet (vitta ?) underneath. See Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4 n.9 m (to no. 3); Aurigemma, S. "Sculture del foro vecchio di Leptis Magna raffiguranti la dea Roma e principi delle casa dei Giulio-Claudi." *Africa Italiana* 8 (1940) pp. 70ff, fig. 47-50.

In order to define more clearly which representations are assimilations of Livia as Demeter/Ceres and which are not, and to create some basis for a typology of these assimilations, I have introduced my own classification of the attributes of the goddess Demeter/Ceres.

My study of the Greek and Roman iconography of the goddess, especially that of the Republican and early Imperial period,[458] allows me to distinguish two predominant types of representations of Ceres which had developed in Roman art by the time of the Principate. I call these types *Ceres Karpophoros/Spicifera* and *Ceres Thesmophoros/Mystica.* Each had its counterpart, with certain iconographic changes, in Greek art.

The primary attributes of the *Roman Ceres Spicifera* type are: a bunch of ears of wheat or barley, sometimes combined with poppy heads/poppy flowers, a wreath of ears of barley or wheat, and, very rarely, a diadem instead of the wreath.[459] The wreath of the pure *Spicifera* type never contains any plants other than the grain-bearing species mentioned above. The *Roman Spicifera* is depicted with a torch or torches,[460] unlike the Greek *Karpophoros* who usually carries a sceptre and is more often diademed. The attributes of the Republican *Ceres Mystica* type are a few ears of grain or poppies in a wreath or in a bunch, sometimes a beaded fillet, a torch or two torches held in the hands, a *cista mystica*, a snake or a winged snake chariot. The goddess may be veiled only and wears no wreath of grain-ears which forms such a prominent feature of the *Spicifera* type.

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[458] See Chapters 2 and 3.

[459] These are: 1) a diademed head of Ceres on the Republican aureus of L. Mussidius Longus of 42 BC (cat. no. 24-fig.); 2) a diademed Ceres in Aricia (cat. no. 1); and 3) a diademed Mystic Ceres on a Republican seal (cat. no. 5-fig.).

[460] See p. 52.

Several representations of Livia as Demeter/Ceres may be classified as the *Greek Karpophoros/Spicifera* type which bears a sceptre, not a torch. This type appears only on provincial coins. Out of thirteen coins bearing a symbol/head/ full-figure representation of Livia as Demeter/Ceres, only four do not belong to the *Greek Spicifera* type, and two of them are very close hybrids which, however, do not belong to the *Roman Spicifera* type either.[461] Livia as the *Greek Spicifera* is shown on the coins standing (cat. nos. 64 and 65) or usually seated (cat. nos. 58-62), may be wreathed with grain-ears (cat. nos. 53ff.) or diademed (only one case, a Tiberian coin of Sardis in Lydia, cat. no. 62) and holds two or three ears of grain in one hand and a sceptre in the other. It is difficult to define how closely the representations on coins were related to the inscriptions on them. Inconsistencies occur often enough to raise doubts as to the accuracy and precise definition of iconographic types when coins are the only source for them.

A Claudian dupondius (cat. no. 56-fig.) struck in Rome in 42 AD, with Livia seated left, holding grain-ears in her right hand and a long torch in her left hand with the inscription *DIVA AVGVSTA* is the only non-provincial Roman issue with Livia represented as Ceres *Spicifera*, struck under the Julio-Claudians. Chronologically it is also the latest, with all the other coins being either Augustan or Tiberian, which means that they were struck before Livia's deification, although not necessarily during her lifetime. The choice of a long, ceremonial torch instead of a sceptre for the Claudian coin has two possible explanations: a) the die-cutter chose the most popular Roman representation of Demeter as a model, possibly the Aventine cult statue,[462] b) the torch has its own symbolic meaning, or a number of meanings. It may refer simply to the custom of carrying torches in the procession accompanying the emperor on special occasions,[463] or it could allude to a possible initiation of Livia in the Eleusinian Mysteries or to her recent deification, whether the two are related or not. If it alludes to deification, it must refer to the deification of Livia in 41 AD. A dupondius of Claudius struck in 41 AD shows Ceres enthroned, with ears of grain in her right hand and a torch, held across her knees, in her left (cat. no. 44-fig.),[464] and the inscription *CERES AVGVSTA*. Both coins reflect the *Roman Spicifera* type (with the torch).

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[461] The Tiberian coin of Panormos (cat. no. 69-fig.) which shows Livia (?), seated and veiled with ears of grain in her left hand and a patera in her right, may allude to her priesthood of Divus Augustus, although the type of Demeter sacrificing is not uncommon in vase painting. The coin of Tralles (Caesarea) in Lydia (cat. no. 64-fig.), dated to the Augustan period, may be considered the *Spicifera* type because it shows Livia standing, veiled, holding two poppy heads and two grain-ears. In the right of Livia's head, however, a die-cutter depicted a crescent moon which may make her Demeter/Isis, although not, I think, Hecate, as Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, believes, because this goddess is usually represented with torches.

With the exception of the Claudian bronze dupondius of 42 AD (cat. no. 56-fig.), all coins which show Livia as the Greek *Spicifera* are local provincial issues of limited circulation. The representations of Livia as Ceres on provincial coins seem in most cases to be based on the well-known local Greek images of the Demeter/

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[462] See above, pp. 8ff.

[463] A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsantation im römische Kaiserreiche* (Darmstad, 1980) p. 113ff, esp. 116, "under the Republic this *nocturna honos* was granted to outstanding magistrates. Under the early principate, however, it became the prerogative of the Domus Augusta, and became more symbolic than functional because the flaming torches were carried also in daylight." The iconographic evidence of torches thus used, presented by Alföldi, is later than the Julio-Claudian period. For the motif of torches on a Claudian coin struck for Antonia Minor, see p. 134 below.

[464] *RIC*, I (2) 127, 94, (fig. for no. 110, pl. 16, my cat. no. 44-fig.).

Karpophoros type. This was very popular in Greece,[465] where a torch was more an attribute of Persephone or Hecate than Demeter, who tends to hold a sceptre to distinguish her better from Persephone with whom she is frequently represented.[466]

In the Roman West, in Lusitania, the iconography of Ceres was probably of Greek origin as well: a Tiberian coin of Emerita in Lusitania shows Livia/Salus on the obverse and Livia/Ceres, seated and bearing a sceptre, on the reverse (cat. no. 57). There is epigraphical evidence for Livia's municipal cult at Emerita between 14 AD and 29 AD, i.e. during her lifetime, showing that it was served by a flamen.[467] Livia as Ceres would not be inappropriate in a grain-producing province. There was also a tendency in the Latin West to imitate imperial iconography produced at Rome. Tarraco and Emerita, for instance, decorated their architecture with "clipei" adorned with heads of Juppiter Ammon, a characteristic feature of the decoration of the Forum of Augustus at Rome.[468]

Among several examples of inconsistencies between the representations on coins and the inscriptions on them, mentioned above, is the coin struck under Augustus (16-13 BC) in Pergamon, Mysia,[469] which shows on the obverse a bust of Livia with her early coiffure (with the lock above the brow and a nodus at the nape of her neck) wearing a wreath on her head yet accompanied by an inscription (in Greek) ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΗΡΑΝ ΧΑΡΙ/ΝΟΣ which obviously assimilates her with Hera. The wreath does not belong to the iconography of Hera, who usually wears a diadem, although it is a primary attribute of Demeter. The obverse of the same coin has a bust of Julia, wearing the same type of coiffure, without the wreath. The inscription assimilates Julia to Aphrodite (ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ). On an *as* of Tiberius and Livia struck in Thapsus, Byzacena,[470] in ca. 12-17 AD, the head of Livia on the reverse has a veil and a wreath of grain-ears, although the inscription associates her with Juno: *THAPSVM IVN AVG.* A Tiberian coin from Tarsus in Cilicia[471] with an inscription ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ ΤΑΡ, clearly adds the name of Hera to the name and titulature of the empress yet shows the representation of a seated woman, veiled, holding ears of grain in her right hand. It seems probable that Livia was so often represented as Demeter/Ceres that this type of iconography became standard for her regardless of her title.

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[465] Ceres Καρποφόρος, Farnell, vol. 3, p. 318, n. 30: at Epidauros, *Eph. Arch.* (1883) 153, no. 50 Δήμητρος καρποφόρου Μηνόδωρος . . . πυροφορήσας (? first century BC); at Paros: *CIG* 2384f Δήμητρος Καρποφόρου; at Lesbos (Mitylene): ib. 2175 Δήμητρος καὶ θεῶν καρποφόρων καὶ θεῶν πολυκάρπων καὶ τελεσφόρων (? early Roman period); Farnell, vol. 3, p. 331, no. 98: at Ephesos, yearly mysteries and sacrifices Δήμητρι καρποφόρῳ καὶ θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ θεοῖς σεβαστοῖς (= the deceased Roman emperors) ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν, *BCH* (1877) p. 289.

[466] Greek coins generally make use of the most revered, best known representations of gods. An idea of what iconography depicts as the traditional image of Demeter, the Olympian goddess can be found in the archaistic Demeter on the Hadrianic base with a representation of the Dodekatheoi (*LIMC*, III, no. 28). She has a sceptre in her left hand and a bunch of poppies and ears of grain in her right. The archaic, traditional character of the image of the goddess is emphasized by her headdress, a polos and a veil.

[467] As stated on p. 102. See also Fishwick, vol. 1.1 p. 183.

[468] D. Fishwick, "Four temples at Tarraco," in *Subject and Ruler*, ed A. Small (Ann Arbor, 1996) p. 176.

If this was the case then a number of coins struck under Tiberius (most of them for Augustus) which are generally attributed to Livia/Juno—on grounds of the inscriptions on some of them and the fact that in those cases she is represented with a patera and sceptre—may in fact show Livia as Demeter. To this group would belong another coin of Thapsus in Byzacena[472] (12-17 AD) with the inscription *THAPSVM IUN AVG* and the image of Livia seated, holding a patera in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. Two Tiberian coins of Leptis Magna[473] show the same type with the inscription (abbreviated) *Augusta Mater Patriae*. This type is repeated again on two Tiberian bronzes from Utica[474] and one from Carthago in Zeugitania,[475] on a coin from Knossos,[476] a coin struck for Drusus in Corinth in ca. 22/23 AD,[477] the Tiberian coins from Corinth,[478] from Antioch in Pisidia.[479] As has been mentioned above, the usual interpretation of the seated figure on the reverse is Livia/Juno. In some cases, however, especially when there is no inscription with *IUN*, she is believed to be Livia as Vesta, or Livia as the priestess of Augustus. I would argue that all these images may equally well represent the Hellenic type of Demeter sacrificing. There are several examples in vase painting and sculpture of Demeter pouring a libation from a patera and holding a sceptre.[480]

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[469] BMC Mysia, 139, no. 248 and 249,k pl 28. 6; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 29, no. 71 ff., pl 4, 6-8.

[470] CNR, 10 246, no. 12; M. Grant, *Tiberius* (1950) 8, no. 22, pl. 3, 1.

[471] Grether (1946) p. 241, and *BMC*, Cilicia, pref XC-no coin.

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[472] Grether (1946) p. 239; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, pp. 48ff; *RPC* no. 795.

[473] 1) a dupondius struck under Tiberius for Augustus—the wreathed head of Augustus is on the obverse (*CNR*, 7, pp. 284ff., no. 1620-23; and 2) a dupondius of Tiberius, with his portrait on the obverse, dated to ca. 18-20 AD (*CNR*, 10, pp. 159ff, no. 699-701).

[474] 1) *CNR*, 10, 176ff, no. 730, and 2) *CNR*, 10, 731, 174ff.

[475] *CNR*, 10, 176ff., no. 726-727. Grether (1946) 239, no. 98, believes Livia is assimilated with Ceres on this coin.

[476] Grant (1950) b. 49, pl. 5.22; Mikocki (1988) no. 73.

[477] *CNR*, 11, 49, no. 70-71; *BMC*, Corinth, 64, no. 523, pl 16, 4; Mikocki (1988) no. 74.

[478] *CNR*, 10, 142ff. no. 661-664.

[479] Mikocki (19880 no. 78; Grant (1950) 18, no. 52, pl. 5, no. 15.

[480] For examples see *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter:" a) statues nos. 55 and 56; b) votive reliefs nos. 27 and 234, and especially 413; c) vase painting, no. 221; and d) the painted votive Ninion tablet, no. 392.

The *Ceres Mystica* type was far less popular for representations of Livia and is represented by only one object, a Thessalonican bronze coin (cat. no. 63), dated to 14-22 AD, which shows Demeter in a biga of snakes, holding torches in both hands.[481] The almost total absence of the *Ceres Mystica* type among the assimilations may be explained by the particular sacredness of this type of image.

The cameos with representations of Livia almost exclusively show her with one or more attributes of Ceres/Demeter, the grain ears and poppy heads especially. In only one instance she is represented as Juno. Six cameos described below are Tiberian, with the possible exception of the Grand Camée de France which may be Claudian.[482] The Livia/Ceres who predominates on the cameos is represented mainly by heads and busts, and the focus of the representation is therefore on the headdress. On coins this could be a veil or a diadem or, as in the vast majority of representations, the characteristic grain-ear wreath of the *Spicifera*. Livia on the cameos is also either diademed or wreathed or veiled and the headdress may be a combination of these elements. In only one case (the glass cameo in Thorvaldsen Museum, dated to the early first century AD, cat. no. 82), however, is she wreathed with grain-ears alone—of the pure *Spicifera* type dominant in the iconography of Ceres.

The remaining cameos represent the empress wearing wreaths composed of various plants, flowers and berries. Two show the combination of poppy heads and grain-ears, the usual components of a bunch held by the goddess in her hand. The earliest instance of this type of wreath can be found on the head of the Ara Pacis

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[481] The motif of Ceres in the biga or quadriga of snakes, chasing the abductor of her daughter gained popularity in the first century AD.

[482] Kleiner, p. 149ff.

Tellus/Pax figure. This wreath of grain-ears and poppies does not belong to the *Spicifera* type of the goddess' iconography, and its appearance seems to mark a transition from the *Spicifera* to the polysemantic type of *Demeter of the Golden Age*, which includes these and other plants. The Tiberian sardonyx cameo in the British Museum (cat. no. 81) represents the veiled bust of Livia wearing this kind or wreath. On the cameo (cat. no. 79-fig.) dated to 14–22/23 AD, showing busts of Tiberius (laureate) and Livia, the same type of wreath has been placed behind a diadem on Livia's head. A more complex wreath on a sardonyx cameo in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, dated to the first quarter of the first century AD (cat. no. 83) includes laurel leaves with berries, in addition to large poppy pods and plastically rendered grain-ears of the Pergamene type.[483] A wreath worn by the veiled head of Livia on an onyx cameo in Florence (cat. no. 80-fig.), dated to ca. 20 AD, adds one element more, poppy flowers. It consists of three parallel layers of ears of grain (of the same type as on the Capitoline cameo), small poppy heads, poppy flowers and two laurel leaves. The addition of the laurel on those Tiberian cameos most probably emphasized Livia's role as the priestess of Divus Augustus, her ritual purity and possibly also her association with Apollo, the god-protector of Augustus.[484]

In all these instances Livia is represented *capite velato*, as a priestess about to sacrifice.[485] Her priestly dignity is also emphasized clearly by means of a laurel wreath on the Grand Camée de France (cat. no. 84-fig.). The only attribute of Demeter/Ceres she is allowed here is a bunch of two poppy heads and two ears of grain. The laurel wreath, I believe, was also necessary as a counterpart of the *corona radiata* of the deified Augustus since both are symbols of Apollo, with whom Augustus wished to be associated.[486] Laurel matched the grain ears and poppies of Demeter,[487] the goddess of the deified heroes: Heracles to whom Augustus was likened in his eulogy,[488] Triptolemos, the Dioscouroi, and others. Cameos, unlike the more rigidly propagandist coins, probably reflect the taste and political allegiances of wealthy art sponsors, persons often close to the Imperial court.[489] Although the style of execution has a lot in common with coin dies, the type of wreath illustrated on cameos indicates that the artists were mainly inspired by the choice of symbols used in large size sculpture, especially statuary, as I argue elsewhere.[490]

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[483] See pp. 25ff.

[484] See p. 70f. above.

[485] As in the representation of Livia in the procession shown on the Ara Pacis.

Representations of Livia as Ceres in sculpture make free use of polysemantic imagery with the composite wreaths, and sometimes, also with attributes of related divinities. The statues which were put up in various public places such as theatres, small shrines in Italy, and in the provinces, in temples of the traditionally worshipped gods or within the temples erected to serve the imperial cult (as at Leptis Magna), were probably the most important form of visual propaganda of the imperial ruler cult. Thus the choice of a headdress and attributes for the statue of Livia, especially after the deification of Augustus, was certainly a serious matter.

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[486] On Apollo fathering Augustus see Suet. *Aug.* 94.4; on Apolline connections of Augustus see Fishwick, vol. I.1, p. 80ff. with full bibliography.

[487] On the association of Demeter and Apollo see p. 69ff.; on the significance of laurel, grain-ears and poppies, see Appendix 1, pp. 178ff.

[488] Dio Cass. 56.36.4.

[489] For the use of small privately-owned images of members of the Imperial family, see S. Wood, "*Memoriae Agrippinae*: Agrippina the Elder in Julio-Claudian Art and Propaganda." *AJA* 92 (1988) p. 418.

[490] See p. 154.

On account of the character of the surviving evidence (seven heads and six partly preserved statues with attributes held in the hands, missing or tentatively reconstructed) the type of the headdress of Livia is the only iconographic feature which allows us to draw general conclusions. Our knowledge of the attributes held in the hands by the statues is based on very limited evidence. Three statues (in Leptis Magna,[491] in the Louvre and in Baene) held cornucopiae (cat. no. 75-fig. and cat. nos. 78-fig. and 76-fig.). The Louvre statue has been restored with a vertical sceptre but may originally have held a long torch as well. I will discuss the headdresses of all the heads and statues first, then the other features of the statues.

The more common, and, therefore, most important, element of the headdress is a wreath. Two heads have no wreath: one shows Livia veiled with a himation (cat. no. 76-fig.); the other is the diademed colossal head in the Capitoline Museum, dated to late Tiberian/early Claudian years (cat. no. 67-fig.), but in this case the diadem is decorated with the usual components of the wreath: the ears of grain, poppies, etc. Two heads, both belonging to statues, are veiled and wreathed (cat. nos. 77 and 78), two are diademed and wreathed (cat. nos. 74 and 68); one is wearing the *corona muralis* and a wreath (cat. no. 75-fig.). Whenever the wreath is combined with a diadem or *corona muralis*, it is placed below it, right above the brow. Five heads have an additional attribute: a beaded fillet. It seems to be unrelated to the other elements of the headdress except, again, a wreath. It decorates two heads wearing only wreaths (cat. nos. 71-fig. and 72-fig.), two heads with veil-wreath combination (cat. nos. 70 and

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[491] The statue from the shrine in the theatre at Leptis Magna most likely also held a cornucopia as attested by additional finds of a broken hand. See G. Caputo and G. Traversari, "Le sculture del teatro di Leptis Magna." *Monografie di Archeologia Libica* 13 (1978) p. 76.

78-fig.), and the head of the Leptis Magna statue which is wearing the *corona muralis* with a wreath below it (cat. no. 75-fig.).

Almost all wreaths on statues of Livia contain ears of grain. The few exceptions include: a) The wreath of leaves, poppy heads and flowers on the head of Livia dated to the years closely following 14 AD in a private German collection (cat. no. 70); b) The wreath of poppy flowers on the colossal Tiberian statue of Livia/Tyche in Paris (cat. no. 78). The meaning of *grain* in a wreath is obvious: fertility and rebirth.[492] The next in popularity is the poppy,[493] which has a double significance. It was associated with Demeter as a plant symbolizing fertility and death (through its soporific properties); and it was used by Demeter/Ceres to heal, if not even immortalize, Triptolemos in the version of the myth retold by Ovid.[494] Poppy flowers in the form of rosettes[495] decorated the diadem of the Arician Ceres (cat. no. 2-fig.) and many other works of art related to Demeter/Ceres. Their bright red flowers were added to wreaths on seven pieces of sculpture while the poppy pods are included in only three wreaths.

Other plants added to the headdresses are in the form of leaves: oak, olive, laurel, acanthus and palm—a palmette may be understood to represent a palm tree or palm branch as much as a rosette represents a poppy flower. All of them have the common feature that they are evergreens which indirectly symbolize immortality. The oak[496] belongs to Ceres in a special way. Ovid[497] reports that the goddess had an oak tree in her special grove which Erysichthon violated, and the participants in the rural festival of Ceres wore wreaths of oak. There may be yet another significance of oak leaves in the wreath of Livia—a subtle reference to Augustus' *corona civica* which he received from the Senate *ob cives servatos* in January of 27 BC along with two laurel trees placed by the entrance to his home on the Palatine.[498] It is characteristic that oak leaves were included in the wreath of Livia/Ceres decorating a statue head dated to the 20s of the first century BC (cat. no. 66). This is the earliest example of a sculptured portrait head of Livia assimilated to Ceres, and comes from Paestum. The head was made for insertion in a (now missing) statue. It is veiled and wreathed with oak leaves, flowers and grain-ears.

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[492] See pp. 27 and 28 above.

[493] For a full discussion of the poppy see Appendix 1, pp. 180f.

[494] See pp. 31ff. above.

[495] For full reference on the rosette as a stylized poppy, see Appendix 1, p. 181.

The four earliest dated representations of Livia as Ceres are the head from Paestum (just mentioned) with the wreath of oak leaves, flowers and wheat; an over-life-size marble head of Livia from Sicily dated to the beginning of the first century AD which was decorated with the wreath of flowers and laurel leaves (cat. no. 69); possibly a coin of Panormos, a local issue (see above, cat. no. 60), struck after 14 AD; and another Augustan coin issued in Tralles, Lydia (cat. no. 64), which shows diademed Livia standing and holding two poppy heads combined with two grain-ears. The first two of these belong to the Golden Age/polysemantic type; the coin of Panormus and Tralles to the type of the *Spicifera*.

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[496] See p. 105.

[497] *Met.* 8.755.

[498] Dio Cass. 52.16. See also W. H. Gross, "The Propaganda of an Unpopular Ideology" in *The Age of Augustus. A Conference held at Brown University Providence, Rhode Island* 1982. Ed. R. Winkes (Louvain and Providence, RI, 1986) p. 38.

The fact that three of the four come from Sicily or Southern Italy, the traditional center of the worship of Demeter, suggests that this was the area of the Latin West where Livia first began to be represented as Ceres in a more or less direct way. The idea of representing the wife of the princeps *sub specie Cereris* may have reached Italy from the East, especially Alexandria, through Puteoli, with the grain fleet, just as the cult of Isis and Serapis did.[499] If so, it fell on the fertile ground of the previous cult of Demeter in this area.

In addition to these four early pieces of known provenance, there is an over-life-size head of Livia in the Louvre (cat. no. 73-fig.) which shows her as a young woman wearing a wreath of grain-ears and laurel leaves,[500] typical of the polysemantic type, tied at the top of the head and at the back. The head is a Claudian copy of an Augustan original,[501] and has been attached to a statue to which it probably did not belong (and which I do not discuss). The piece is of unknown provenance.

The Tiberian representations of Livia/Ceres are particularly numerous. The common feature shared by all five sculpted heads and statues of Livia/Ceres dated to this period is a new iconographic device: the beaded fillet, almost certainly a symbol of Livia's priesthood of Divus Augustus.[502] The heads (between 28 and 34 cm) are all above lifesize. The earliest example is probably the marble head from a private collection in Germany (cat. no. 70), of unknown provenance. The wreath which adorns this (veiled) head of Livia consists of some leaves (laurel?), poppy heads and poppy flowers. The beaded fillet is visible under the veil. The head of Livia from (probably) Campania, and now in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (cat. no. 72), has a wreath of grain-ears with thick grains, flowers, and poppies. The beaded fillet dangles in a double string on the left side of the head at the back. The head in the Hermitage (cat. no. 70), which comes from a statue ca. 2 meters tall, is dated to ca. 25-40 AD and has a wreath of large, flattened, almost rectangular ears of corn, their grains emphasized, which encircle the head and meet above the brow, combined with fruits (large berries or small poppies of a wild variety). A very distinct, large, single string of a beaded fillet is suspended from under the wreath. I have called this type of wreath (with its schematic treatment of ears of grains) a Pergamene wreath Type 2a because it appears to have been derived from there. It is worn by a bust of Augustus-Triptolemos in the Vatican Museum.[503] All the sculptural heads described above, and most of the cameos belong to the polysemantic type of iconography, which introduces the set of ideas associated with the image of the goddess on the Ara Pacis and the Garden Room of Livia.[504]

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[499] The earliest shrine to Serapis is known from Puteoli, the earliest Iseum from Pompei. Both date to the second century BC. See L. R. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* (Chicago 1913; reprint, 1985) p. 66, n. 1.

[500] I believe it is laurel, because the leaves are longer then those of the olive.

[501] See V. Poulsen, *Les Portraits Romains* (Copenhagen, 1973) p. 100. It is noteworthy that the Augustan sculptured head from Sicily (cat. no. 69), and the unprovenanced head in the Louvre (cat. no. 73) which probably goes back to an Augustan original, are both above life-size. The size of the Louvre head is ca. 23-24 cm, which is my estimate based on the proportion of the head to the total height of the statue which is 1.99 m. The larger of the two is the Sicilian head which measures 32 cm, and, therefore, the statue must have been over 2.10 m high. This is a clear indication that already during the reign of Augustus, the statues of Livia were given the dimensions of divine representations.

The colossal statue from the shrine in the theatre at Leptis Magna (3.10 m tall, with head measuring 0.7 m; cat. no. 75-fig.), dated to the 30s of the first century AD, seems to belong to the same category. The primary attribute of Tyche/Fortuna[505], the *corona muralis*, is combined here with a narrow wreath of grain-ears, poppies and, (I think) laurel leaves. A beaded fillet is visible at the back of the head. The attribute held in the left hand was probably a cornucopia, a symbol of fertility and immortality, but also an attribute of Tyche/Fortuna, although no longer one of her primary attributes, as it was generally applied whenever the need to emphasize particular wealth and fertility arose.[506] The drapery is characteristic of the Classical Greek Hera, with the addition of the Roman stola, a prescribed symbol of the *matrona*. Thus, although the choice of attributes and their position within the image resulted in a slightly greater emphasis put on Tyche/Fortuna, it was probably lessened by the wreath of Ceres. She may also have held some attribute of Ceres in the right hand—possibly a bunch of grain-ears and poppies. On the other hand, the drapery type suggests her association with Hera/Juno, the beaded fillet identifies her as a priestess of a new god, and her stola points to her very "mortal" character of a Roman *matrona*. The overall impression was deliberately ambiguous and avoided the firm identification of Livia with any specific goddess. The size of the statue, and the wide assortment of divine attributes, suggests her exceptional qualities and powers as the widow and special priestess of Divus Augustus. On the other hand, the addition of the stola may have been intended to lessen the impression of a divinity-or at least to emphasise that she is a real human being.

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[502] For a discussion of the beaded fillet see p. 65 above.

[503] Vatican Museums, inv. 715; Spaeth (1994) fig. 16. See also my discussion on the Pergamene Wreath Type 2a on pp. 25ff. above.

[504] Discussed above on pp. 80ff.

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[505] The statue of Livia as Fortuna/Tyche (from Baene near Cordoba, now in Museo Archeologico, Madrid, 20. 332) seems to have been created as early as the 20's BC. She is seated, veiled with a himation, holding a cornucopia, filled with flowers, fruit, ears of grain in her left hand. See Fittschen and Zanker (1982) 2, no. 61 (to no. 1 Typus). See cat. no. 76-fig.

[506] For discussion of the significance of the cornucopia see p. 87.

Another colossal statue of Tiberian date, probably found in the city of Rome and now in the Louvre, shows Livia as Tyche/Fortuna (cat. no. 78-fig., size 2.53 m). She is represented standing, draped and veiled with himation, having a cornucopia in her left hand and a bunch of corn-ears/poppies (restored) in her right. An old-fashioned nodus coiffure and a high, very distinct, thick wreath of poppy flowers contrast with the mature, grave face of the empress. Again Ceres imagery is used, yet in a way that makes impossible the direct identification of the empress with the goddess herself. There are no grain-ears in the wreath, yet they are spilling from the cornucopia. The other fruits in the cornucopia are grapes and a single pomegranate, the ancient attributes of Persephone and Demeter,[507] while the horn of plenty itself is covered with a shallow relief of vine with one large rosette near the rim. I agree with Poulsen[508] that the reconstruction of the bunch of grain-ears and the poppies in the other hand is probably correct - it complements the cornucopia and strengthens the Ceres imagery, weakened by the wreath. The statue was probably created after the death of Livia in 29 AD and yet before her deification by Claudius in AD 42. The time-frame is suggested not only by the style and the headdress, but also by the choice of attributes. The face of the old empress is visibly aged, yet she is given a wreath of poppy flowers. These flowers of Kore/Persephone may be an allusion to her fate as she was snatched by Hades. They would therefore be a symbol of death. The cornucopia - symbol of fertility - most probably signifies immortality, yet not as directly as a diadem of a goddess would. The beaded fillet reminded the viewer that Livia had been the priestess of Divus Augustus. As will be shown later (p. 123), the images (especially the sculpted portraits) of Livia produced after her deification do not carry the beaded fillet, and are often diademed; if wreathed, the plant often added to the wreath was olive.

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[507] For the significance of the pomegranate see p. 183 and the apple see p. 185f. On the *dikeras* (double cornucopia) containing a pomegranate and an apple see pp. 90ff.

[508] Poulsen (1973) p. 102.

The Claudian sculptural representations of Livia/Ceres consist of two heads and one statue, all well above lifesize, one colossal. The common characteristics of these assimilations are the presence of a diadem, the disappearance of the beaded fillet and the use of olive leaves instead of laurel. The wreaths are all of the composite type.

The most impressive of them is a head in the Capitoline Museum, also said to have been found in Rome (cat. no. 67-fig.). Since this is 79.5 cm high, the original statue (if standing) was about 4 m tall, which is probably as tall as the early Republican statue of Ceres (see Comparanda 3-4-C).[509] The headdress consists of a high decorated diadem which has a row of nine or ten small palmettes along the rim and six parallel ears of grain and three poppy heads which grow out of acanthus leaves. The combination of the grain-ears, poppy and acanthus is reminiscent of the decoration of the Caryatids from the lesser Propylaea at Eleusis (Comparanda 25-C) and Campanian plaques of the Augustan period (cat. no. 28-fig.) which symbolize Demeter, Persephone and Dionysos—possibly the Mystic Dionysos, son of Persephone.[510] If the symbolism reflects a mystery cult, the number of ears of grain may have its own meaning. The cistophori of Augustus which commemorate the mysteries of Demeter at Ephesos show grain-ears in bunches of six.[511] The *Mystic Ceres* on a late Republican seal in Munich (cat. no. 5-fig.) is also represented with six grain-ears set upright in her diadem. The palmettes may allude to the Apolline devotion of Augustus or may be purely ornamental.[512] One may assume, if only because of the height of the statue, that this impressive representation of Livia was displayed in a public place at Rome, possibly soon after her deification by Claudius, who elevated her to a status equal to that of Augustus in order to strengthen the Claudian claim to rule after Drusilla's deification by Gaius. Propaganda of legitimacy was certainly more intense in the beginning of the reign of Claudius than later in his rule.

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[509] A large statue enjoyed the greatest visibility which increased the risk of encroachment upon the sensitive religious and political sphere. Most of the statues of Livia/Ceres listed above were probably public statues of this kind. Some of them may have been placed in the temples of traditional deities, standing or seated. Most probably these colossal heads were acrolithic: attached to wooden seated statue frames. Price (1984), who gives credit to Nock (1930), noted that the status of the traditional god and the deified Caesar was that of subordination of the Caesar to the traditional deity (especially in the case when both shared the same temple). He says (p. 155) "It was not common for the emperor to share fully in the temple of a traditional god... The emperor did sometimes have a part in the temple to a god, but in a carefully controlled manner," and (p. 156) "the Imperial images that were placed inside the temple of the god seem to have been of different size and in a different position from the traditional cult statue." Price argues (p. 171) that the Imperial images, distributed from the center in Rome "were incorporated within Greek religious categories (and) they served as significant objects of the ritual." Inscriptions from Aphrodisias in Caria and from a statue base from Lampsaskos call Iulia Augusta "Nea Demeter" (see no. 452 for full reference). If *Nea*, then possibly with slightly changed iconography (?).

A head in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (cat. no. 68) is diademed and wreathed with grain-ears, flowers (poppies) and olive-leaves, while a statue in Lowther Castle (cat. no. 74) is veiled, diademed and wreathed with olive (or oak) leaves and flowers. The olive, apart from its usual association with Pax and Arete, may have a subtle chthonic/Pythagorean significance,[513] but at the most obvious level of association as an evergreen it represents immortality. It is possible that the olive signified the immortality acquired through virtue and heroic deeds. The idea of an "acquired" immortality, taken from Varro, recurs in Cicero's works,[514] and can be seen in his private life in his intention to build a shrine for Tullia after her death. In the *De Natura Deorum* Aurelius Cotta distinguishes between the *dei sempiterni* and *qui immortales hominibus facti sunt*.[515] Characteristically, all the heroes he names, except Romulus, were initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.[516] The olive[517] was also the tree which Heracles, a deified hero, brought from the country of Hyperboreans, "Apollo's people". Olive wreaths were worn at the *lustrum* of the equites on the 15th of July, the holiday in honour of Castor and Pollux, initiates to the Mysteries of Demeter. The olive wreath appears again in the context of acquired immortality. On the "marriage cameo" in Vienna described below (cat. no. 122-fig.), which shows Claudius and Agrippina with Tiberius and Livia (or with Germanicus and Agrippina Major), the deified Livia is also shown wearing an olive wreath. This is usually considered to be a symbol which associates her with Minerva, but I believe that it indicates her acquired immortality. We can contrast the image of Agrippina, alive at the time, which has the wheat-poppy wreath. The olive wreath on the head of Livia replaced the usual laurel which was associated with her priesthood of Augustus. The Diva Augusta, herself a goddess, was no longer the priestess of her husband, but his equal. Claudius may have wished to stress this point also by removing the beaded fillet from the official statuary of Livia.

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[510] See p. 63.

[511] Comparanda 48-C. For a discussion of the number six, see p. 27.

[512] The palmettes are a common feature on the diadems of Livia assimilated to Juno and Venus.

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[513] See p. 189.

[514] See *De Natura Deorum* (3.5.12) where Cotta argues that the souls of Castor and Pollux are divine and live forever, although their bodies were cremated. In *De Natura Deorum* (3.19.49) Cotta reminds Balbus that the Roman tax-farmers, in order to tax also those lands in Boeotia which belonged to the gods, *negabant immortalis esse ullos qui aliquando homines fuissent*, "had been . . . at one time . . . human beings" which excluded the deified heroes.

[515] On the deification of heroes and Roman perception of it, see Antonio La Penna, " Brevi considerazioni sulla divinizzazione degli eroi e sul canone degli eroi divinizzati," in *Hommages à Henri Le Bonniec*, ed. D. Porte et J.-P. Nerandau (Bruxelles, 1988).

[516] See pp. 33-34, 62 and 112 for names of the mythic initiates of Demeter.

[517] For the significance (also chthonic) of the olive see pp. 188ff.

The statue in Lowther Castle shows Livia wearing a high diadem with a wreath below, and with the back of her head veiled. The wreath (heavily restored) consists of poppy flowers and olive (or oak) leaves. The statue has both hands and the right arm restored. I believe that the restored vertical sceptre in her right hand may be replaced with a tall, slender ceremonial torch of "Alexandrian" type,[518] similar to that represented on a Claudian dupondius commemorating the apotheosis of Livia (cat. no. 44-fig.).

Thus the Claudian statues differ from the Augustan and Tiberian in size (one is definitely colossal), in the fact that they are all diademed, that they have no beaded fillet, and that their composite wreaths exclude the laurel in favour of the olive. The overall imagery, however, remains polysemantic and avoids direct assimilation with Ceres. Not one of Livia's representations in sculpture, whether produced before her deification or after she became *Diva*, makes use of the pure iconographic types of the goddess, although they existed and were very popular at that time.[519] Since the preference for the olive seems to be characteristic of the representations of the deified

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[518] For discussion of the various types of torches, see p. 54.

[519] See pp. 54ff., esp. the enthroned Ceres from Casa del Naviglio (cat. no. 34-fig.) and Ceres from the House of the Dioscouroi (cat. no. 36-fig.).

Livia, the Grand Camée de France on which Livia wears a wreath of laurel is probably Tiberian, not Claudian. Of the other objects, the coins and the cameos, only one, the Claudian dupondius of 42 AD, with inscription *DIVA AUGUSTA*, represents Livia in a pure *Roman Ceres Spicifera* type.

The iconography of Livia includes her representations as several goddesses: Juno/Hera, Tyche, Cybele, Justitia, Pietas, Salus, Venus, Mnemosyne, Vesta/Hestia.[520] The two most popular assimilations of Livia were with Ceres and Juno, with Ceres definitely more frequently used, especially after the death of Augustus.

As I have attempted to show, the assimilation of Livia of the polysemantic type of *Ceres of the Golden Age* prevails in her full-size and above-size portrait sculptures which were the most important images associated with the ruler cult. The *Spicifera* type, popular on provincial coins, was of less significance for the development of imperial representations. Some cameos, which reflected the private tastes of wealthy Romans, may have been executed by the coin die-cutters, or else the gem-producers occasionally used coins for models of these small-size representations. This would account for the few examples of *the Spicifera* type on them. The remaining cameos reflect the change of taste: the heads of Livia are wreathed not only with poppy heads added to the grain-ears, but also with poppy flowers, laurel leaves and olive leaves. The characteristic shape of grain ears (all of the Pergamene type) in these composite wreaths points to sculpture as a model for the cameos. Attributes of other divinities are added as well. One cameo (cat. no. 85) shows Livia (or Antonia?) with the attributes of Ceres/Cybele, wearing open-necked drapery characteristic of Venus and holding a bust of the deified Augustus.

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[520] Mikocki (1988) p. 31.

My analysis of the assimilations of Livia gives rise to two questions: why was *Ceres* the goddess most frequently chosen for the imagery of Livia? and why is this imagery extended by the addition of elements not normally used in the iconography of the goddess? The answer to the first question is complex. The most obvious explanation is that the Augustan propaganda of the Golden Age with the idea of peace and prosperity encouraged the use of the imagery of Ceres, the goddess of fertility and peace, mother of Wealth and consort of Jupiter. The Ptolemaic princesses and queens, including Cleopatra, were often assimilated to Demeter/Isis.[521] More attention may have been given to the goddess of grain on account of the recurring famines and problems with the grain supply. The image of an empress/Ceres would be intended to reassure the public indirectly that the ruling family would put an end to famine as the goddess herself does.

On a less obvious level the image of Livia as Ceres was an illustration of the social reforms of Augustus,[522] and his religious revival which aimed at the return of old values. Ceres was the ideal goddess of a Roman *matrona*. She was mature, chaste, fertile; her cult was considered to be one of the most ancient and was highly respected. Her image gave increased importance to an idyllic agricultural symbolism. The concept of bread as the most civilized food and farming as the most civilized occupation made Ceres, who was the author of both, the goddess of civilization. The image of Livia represented as Demeter/Ceres was easily accepted in areas where the tradition of the cult of this goddess was strong, and, when disseminated throughout the Empire, it diffused a message that Rome was now the centre of the cultured world and the propagator of civilization. Considering that Demeter was one of the most widely worshipped goddesses in the Graeco-Roman world, the image held another message: it represented the cultural unity of the whole Empire. I believe that a representation of Livia with attributes of Demeter/Ceres marked the next stage in the life of the Empire, following that in which the goddess Roma (usually represented in armour and helmet) was in charge. Dea Roma symbolized the armed conquest and the military presence of Rome; the empress in the guise of Demeter/Ceres symbolized the orderly and peaceful life under a benevolent dynasty.

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[521] See Liebeschuetz (1979) p. 95.

[522] Suet. *Aug*. 34.

On a deeper level the assimilation of Livia with Demeter/Ceres reflected first the hope,[523] and next, the guarantee of deification which the goddess herself offered to her most deserving initiates. The polysemantic Golden Age/Elysian type of iconography emphasized associations with other mystery gods such as Dionysos and also with Apollo. Augustus was tutored by Areius, a Pythagorean[524] and may have worshipped the mystic Isis and Sarapis,[525] and he was a very serious devotee of the Eleusinian Demeter,[526] admitted to the highest degree of initiation. As I have already stated (p. 40) it is most probable that Livia herself was initiated into the

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[523] Before the death of Augustus and his deification in 14 AD.

[524] Another Pythagorean sympathizer, and at the same time a friend of Octavian, was Juba of Mauretania; see Rawson (1985) p. 293.

[525] Dio Cass. 51.16.4 says that he spared Alexandria on account of "the god Sarapis, . . . Alexander (the Great), and . . . Areius."

[526] On the Roman initiates, including (probably) women from the Imperial family, into the Eleusinian Mysteries, see p. 44.

Mysteries as well, as is attested by the presence of her statue in Eleusis.[527] All these concepts permeated the thought of Rome in the second half of the first century BC, especially poetry and philosophy, and eventually had to find expression in art as well. This is the period when the type of *Ceres of the Golden Age* was created. The new ideology required new imagery, extremely rich in symbols. This new set of symbols, originally scattered (the Garden of Livia at Prima Porta, the female personification on the Ara Pacis, the swags decorating altars) could not be used in the iconography of the "essential" Ceres, the grain goddess worshipped on the Aventine and at Henna, because this iconography was sanctioned by religion and tradition. The iconography of *a new kind* of divinity—a personification, or in this case an imperial woman situated above the mortals yet not on the level of a traditional divinity—had no tradition-sanctioned sacred set of symbols and was much more flexible. This flexibility in the choice of attributes served two purposes: it set the imagery of Livia assimilated to Ceres apart from that of the goddess herself, and vastly enriched the meaning of the representation of Livia/Ceres.[528] The assimilations of Livia as Ceres were very rare under Augustus, but the only surviving sculptured head already represents the polysemantic *Golden Age* type of wreath which is never found in the iconography of Demeter/Ceres.

Before the deification of Livia this deliberate iconographic ambiguity was necessary from the political point of view. Augustus, and after him Tiberius, consistently refused divine honours for themselves in Rome and the same policy applied to Augustus' wife, and later widow. Despite the stern attitude of Tiberius in that matter, and also his refusal to deify Livia after her death, the Tiberian rule abounded in representations of Livia assimilated to Ceres. By the time of the deification in 41 AD the polysemantic iconographic type of Livia/Ceres was well known and accepted. After the deification two symbols were added: a diadem to emphasize the status of a divinity and an olive wreath to provide the necessary hint that this status was acquired. It put Diva Augusta on a level different from that of Athena, Demeter or any other Olympian goddess. In each case the polysemantic iconography allowed both the erudite patron and the sculptor to show off their knowledge of plant/fruit symbolism. It is significant that while the iconography of Livia/Ceres was straightforward in the case of provincial coins, it increased in ambiguity proportionally to the visibility and public importance of her representations.

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[527] The statues of Augustus and Livia seem to have been set up by *the Demos* shortly after 31 BC, after the battle of Actium, when Augustus was initiated into the Greater Mysteries, and certainly before 27 BC. See Clinton (1972) p. 1507. See also Vanderpool (1968) pp 7-9, who mentions an altar inscription honouring both Augustus and Livia there.

[528] As noticed by Spaeth (1994) p. 93.

Livia's Family and the Eleusinian Mysteries

The sudden popularity of Ceres as a type for Livia's assimilation under Tiberius may find additional explanation in the rivalry between the Claudians and the Julians within the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The power struggle between those two old families found expression in the choice of the divine subjects for the representation of imperial women. Precedents for this type of "politics of imagery" existed. The best researched case is the conflict between Antony-Dionysos and

Octavian-Apollo.[529] In the case of the antagonism between the Julians and the Claudians, the situation is far less clear because it was hidden, and because emperors from both sides tended to base their legitimacy on their relationship to Augustus and Livia, the founder couple, and therefore constantly returned to Augustan symbols. Still, each emperor tried to emphasize the separate identity of his original *gens*. The resulting conglomerate of images is highly complex but potentially fascinating to study.

Given her Claudian origins, a natural choice for Livia would have been Cybele, the goddess of the patricians,[530] whose cult was brought to Rome in 204 BC, at one stage with the help of Claudia Quinta, a Claudian woman. Cybele/Magna Mater did not, however, become the most popular assimilation of Livia. She was too "oriental" and on a popular level was worshipped by means of orgiastic rituals which were in stark contrast to the Roman sense of *decorum*. Venus, divine foundress of the Julian *gens* was not appropriate for a mother of the Claudian emperor as well.

Augustus chose Apollo, the god of civilization and moderation for his patron god.[531] If his cultural legacy was to be preserved, Livia had to select a similar type of female divinity for her assimilation—yet a divinity to which both her Livian and Claudian past could relate in some definite way. The Livii were a powerful plebeian family with a story of participation in the agrarian problem and grain distribution, and had the reputation of being supporters of *liberalitas*. The Claudian link with Demeter was forged by Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 54 BC, an initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries and builder of the Lesser Propylaea at Eleusis.[532] It is possible that when famine occurred during his consulship, Appius Claudius made a vow to Demeter, but to fulfil it he preferred to adorn the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddess, and not that of the plebeian Aventine Ceres. The building of the Propylaea, started in 51 BC, was continued after the death of the founder and was completed by his two nephews, Pulcher Claudius and Rex Marcius (previously mentioned), before ca. 35 BC, so the memory of the dedication was still fresh when Augustus and (possibly also Livia)[533] were initiated there at the beginning of the principate.

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[529] On Antony-Dionysos after Philippi see Fishwick, vol. 1.1, p. 48; On Octavian-Apollo, as above, p. 80ff. with bibl.

[530] Scullard (1981) p. 98.

[531] For the colossal statue of Apollo Palatinus which had features of Augustus himself, see L. R. Taylor, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, 1931; reprint, 1981) pp. 153. For Octavian impersonating Apollo during a costume party, see Suet. *Aug*. 70.

The choice of Demeter/Ceres for representations of Livia posed one major problem for the Claudian Tiberius: the Aventine Demeter/Ceres was traditionally a plebeian divinity, with her sanctuary, *asylum plebis*, possibly quite recently involved in hunger riots. This concern may partly explain why the iconographic type of Demeter/Ceres, chosen for Livia, so often differed from the traditional representations of Ceres, the grain goddess of the Aventine.

From the historical perspective the first concrete evidence for increased interest in the cult of Ceres on the part of the princeps begins with the dedication of the *Ara Cereris Matris et Opis Augustae* on August 10th, 7 AD, a time of famine.[534] It was probably meant as an honour to Livia. It is symptomatic that the altar was dedicated very late in the Augustan rule when his health was failing,[535] Livia's influence was steadily growing, and Tiberius was already adopted as Augustus' successor.[536] The next political move which may suggest that the cult of the goddess received more attention was the dedication of the temple of Ceres by Tiberius in 17 AD.[537] The temple had been left undedicated since it was restored by Augustus at the beginning of his rule.

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[532] Clinton (1972), p. 1505ff.

[533] See pp. 39ff. on the Roman initiates. Clinton (1972), p. 1507, also mentions a statue of yet another Roman woman initiate, Sempronia L. f. Atratina, wife of L. Gellius Publicola, the consul of 36 BC. See also *IG* II 2 4231.

[534] On the famine see Dio Cass. 55.31.4; on the altar see Grether (1946) p. 226.

Under Claudius, the visual propaganda followed that of Augustus and Tiberius, though not slavishly. Livia, now deified and no longer a priestess to Augustus, became very prominent. The iconography of Agrippina the Younger generally imitated that of Livia.[538] The popularity of the type of Livia/Ceres can be explained in part by the great interest Claudius expressed in the secular games, and in the Eleusinian Mysteries which, according to Suetonius, he intended to transfer to Rome.[539] There is no evidence that Claudius was initiated himself, although by that time attendance in the Great Mysteries by the members of the Imperial family, especially the Claudians, may have become a tradition, since Suetonius finds it necessary to mention that Nero avoided participation in the Eleusinian Mysteries after the murder of his mother.[540] We do not hear of an emperor between Augustus and Nero visiting Greece. It is likely, however, that both Tiberius and Gaius visited Athens (and Eleusis) during their travels before they became emperors. Tiberius may have been there as early as 20 BC, when he was on his first military expedition leading an army from Macedonia to Syria,[541] or at any time during his self-imposed exile on Rhodes where he spent seven years. There is no evidence that he was not allowed to leave the island. On one occasion it is recorded that he sailed to Samos to greet Gaius Caesar.[542] Gaius/Caligula travelled to the East with Germanicus and Agrippina.[543] His young age would not have prevented initiation which was open to people of all ages.

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[535] Dio Cass. 55.13.1a.

[536] Augustus demanded, however, that Tiberius, who had his own son Drusus, adopt Germanicus (Dio Cass. 55.13.2), in an effort to make sure that in the future the rule would pass on to the representatives of the Julian *gens* again.

[537] Tac. *Ann.* 2.49

[538] Tac. *Ann.* 12.66-9.

[539] Suet. *Claud.* 25; on the secular games and deification of Livia see, p. 48.

[540] Suet. *Ner.* 34.

The assimilations of the deified Julio-Claudian imperial women with Ceres, especially in official art, differ greatly from the type of *Ceres mystica* known from Republican and Imperial art. The usual attributes of the mystic Demeter/Ceres type: the *cista*, the snake, the winnowing fan, the bacchoi, the beaded fillet, and even the torches, are nowhere to be found among the assimilations of the Imperial Julio-Claudian women to Ceres. The preferred type, as I have shown, was the *Demeter/Ceres of the Golden Age* in sculpture and on cameos, the Demeter/Ceres goddess of grain (the *Spicifera* type) on coins and the *Demeter with Triptolemos* on cameos, especially those of Agrippina.

As has already been mentioned in two instances, two imperial women are represented with the attributes of the Mystic Ceres - and with a torch, or in the context of torches. These women are Livia and Antonia Minor, successive priestesses of the deified Augustus. The torch is an attribute of Livia on a Claudian coin which has the deified Augustus on the obverse (cat. no. 56-fig.). Antonia Minor, whose usual coin portrait shows her with a wreath of grain-ears is represented with a torch on a Claudian coin as *Constantia* (cat. no. 89-fig.). Another coin of Antonia (with the bust of Antonia/Ceres on the obverse) has the reverse adorned with two long flaming torches of the Alexandrian type tied together with the beaded fillet (cat. no. 88-fig.). The legend on the coin makes it clear that in this case the torches were associated with Antonia's priesthood of the deified Augustus. The beaded fillet was, however, also involved in the iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In the iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries the *daduchos*, leader of the *mystai*, whether mythical (Triptolemos or Iacchos) or real, is always shown carrying *two torches*.[544] So too is the priestess on the Lovatelli urn (cat. no. 42-fig.) who is purifying Heracles with *two* torches. The beaded fillets, symbols of purity and initiation itself, are often represented in the iconography of Persephone as the Queen of the Underworld as well as of Demeter.[545] The beaded fillets were occasionally tied to torches.[546] The funeral altar of Amemptus, the freedman of Livia of ca. 30 AD, is decorated with two torches, with beaded fillets tied to each of them, almost certainly as a symbol of initiation.[547] In the tomb of the Haterii there is also a relief of torches with beaded fillets tied to them (Comparanda 50-C and 51-C).

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[541] Suet. *Tib*. 14.

[542] Suet. *Tib*. 12.

[543] Suet. *Calig*. 10.

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[544] See p. 54.

[545] For the beaded fillet see pp. 62ff.

[546] See Comparanda 16-C; also n. 264 above.

[547] Altmann, p. 116, no. 111.

CHAPTER FIVE

WOMEN OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY AS DEMETER/CERES

In addition to Livia, the wife of Augustus, the wives and daughters of the Julio-Claudian emperors, also enjoyed special privileges and were represented with the attributes of various female deities. Demeter/Ceres was the goddess most frequently chosen for representations of Agrippina Major in the eastern provinces, and later also for her daughter Agrippina Minor, especially during the period of her marriage with Claudius and the early reign of Nero.[548] Demeter/Ceres was moderately popular as an iconographic type in representations of Antonia except in the coin types which reflect Claudian propaganda of his family, but it was only sporadically chosen for the sisters of Gaius during his reign, with the exception of Livilla. The general pattern is that Demeter/Ceres was much more common as an iconographic type under the Claudian emperors than under Gaius who emphasized his Julian ancestral gods, especially Aphrodite/Venus.

Chronology requires that after Livia the imperial women represented as Demeter/Ceres be discussed in the following order: Julia Augusti (39 BC-14 AD), Antonia Minor (36 BC-37 AD), Julia Livilla (14 BC-11 AD), Agrippina Major (14 BC-33 AD), Agrippina Minor (15 AD-59 AD), who will be discussed both as the wife of Claudius and the mother of Nero, Julia Drusilla (16/17-38 AD), Valeria Messalina Claudii (ca. 25-48 AD), the daughters of Claudius: Claudia Antonia (27/29-65/68 AD) and Claudia Octavia (41-62 AD), and Poppaea Sabina (30/32-65 AD).

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[548] Mikocki (1988) p. 59 and p. 143.

Julia Augusti (39 BC-14 AD) was the daughter of Augustus by Scribonia. By her second husband, Agrippa, she was mother of Gaius (20 BC-4 AD), Lucius (17 BC-2 AD), Julia Minor (19 BC-28 AD), Agrippa Postumus (12 BC-14 AD) and Agrippina Major (14 BC-33 AD). She was banished to Pandateria in 2 BC where she died in 14 AD. There are no certain examples of Julia represented as Ceres. Four possible instances, three on cameos and one on a tessera, are discussed below under Julia Livilla. The identification of Julia or Livilla on these objects is mainly based on the fact that they are represented with children.

Antonia Minor (36 BC-37 AD) was the daughter of Octavia by Mark Antony. As the niece of Augustus she played an important role in his plans for the succession, although naturally less so than his daughter Julia did. Raised by Octavia, Antonia Minor was married to Nero Claudius Drusus, the younger son of Livia, by whom she had Livilla, Germanicus and Claudius.[549] After her husband's death in 9 BC she refused to remarry and remained a highly respected *univira* who stayed loyal to Tiberius during the conspiracy of Sejanus to the point of starving her daughter Livilla to death in punishment for her participation in it. One of her highest honours, which she received from Gaius, was the office of priestess of the cult of Augustus, vacant after Livia's death in 29 AD. Along with the Gaius' sisters she also received the privileges of the Vestal Virgins. Antonia died in 37 AD and five years later her son Claudius, the successor of Gaius, honoured her posthumously with the title of *Augusta*.

All the objects which represent Antonia assimilated with Demeter/Ceres are coins, and they date to Claudian times. These are aurei and denarii minted at Rome in 41–42 AD with the obverse showing the head of Antonia wreathed with grain-ears and the legend *ANTONIA AVGVSTA*. The reverse of this issue shows one or two long torches, lighted and joined with the beaded fillet and an inscription *SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI*. The torches are certainly associated with Antonia's priesthood of Augustus. As already discussed, torches are among the most characteristic symbols of initiations and mystery religions in general, as well as symbols of processions, while the beaded fillet is closely associated both with the Eleusinian Mysteries and with the cult of Apollo. On the obverses of the Roman issues of the denarii and aurei of 41–45 AD, Antonia's head is wreathed with wheat-ears, probably struck from the same obverse die as the coins with the *Sacerdos* reverse. The choice of Demeter/Ceres for representations of Antonia was certainly intentional and important. She was the first imperial woman whose portraiture was associated with Ceres/Demeter in the most prestigious state coinage of gold and silver, the issue of which was supervised by the emperor himself. The bronze dupondius of 42 AD,[550] with the obverse inscription *DIVA AVGVSTA* and the full figure representation of Livia (possibly) holding ears of grain in the right hand and a long torch in her left hand does not have the features of Livia.

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[549] Plut. *Ant.* 87.

On one object, a Claudian lead tessera from Rome (cat. no. 97), Antonia is represented wearing a composite type of wreath representing *Ceres of the Golden Age* which consists of ears of grain and laurel leaves. Three explanations of this unusual (for Antonia) iconography are possible: a) the addition of laurel was another symbol of the imperial priesthood of Antonia; b) the tessera was produced for the grain distribution; and c) Claudius was adapting Antonia's iconography to Livia's.

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[550] Cat. no. 56-fig.

The assimilation of Antonia with Ceres/Demeter on the Claudian aurei and denarii is the more striking in that in sculpture and on cameos the usual attribute of fertility given to Antonia in her assimilations is a cornucopia, not ears of grain, and the most common headdress is a diadem, not the wreath of wheat ears. The coin of Corinth (cat. no. 86) with the bust of Antonia and the inscription *ANTONIA AVGVSTA* on the obverse shows two large cornucopiae on the reverse. The reverses of the issues of 41-45 AD with the inscription *CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI* show Antonia (probably) as a standing woman, holding a long torch of the "Alexandrian" type in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left.[551]

Antonia holds the cornucopia on two cameos. On a cameo in the British Museum (cat. no. 91), produced ca. 29-37 AD, she holds a cornucopia surmounted by a globe on which is resting the bust of Augustus with a *corona radiata*. On an amethyst intaglio in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (cat. no. 92), dated to the beginning of the first century, Antonia is veiled and wearing a crown of oak leaves, which may be an alternative Roman wreath of Ceres worn for the purpose of her rural cult,[552] and with her right hand she is clasping a cornucopia filled with grapes, grain-ears, pomegranates and poppy heads.

The colossal (2.29 m high; cat. no. 93) Claudian statue of Antonia from Falerii in Etruria, shows her dressed in stola and pala, and holding a cornucopia in her left hand. She probably held a torch (?) or sceptre in her right. She is wearing a diadem and a beaded fillet on her head.

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[551] I doubt that this type is a personification of Constantia. Constantia appears on coins of Claudius twice: on an aureus of 41-42 AD (*RIC*, I, 121, no. 2, pl. 15) where she is represented seated left on a curule chair, feet on a stool, right hand raised, and on an *as* of Claudius dated to 41-50 AD (*RIC*, 127, no. 95, pl. 16) where she is helmeted, in military dress, standing left, the right hand raised, the left holding a long spear. The woman on the coin struck by Claudius for Antonia does not have her hand raised.

[552] See Appendix 1, p. 195.

The comparison with the contemporary Claudian representations of Livia is interesting. Whereas the representations of Livia as Demeter/Ceres abound in grain-ears, poppy flowers and poppy pods, the images of Antonia associated with fertility have few of the primary attributes of Demeter/Ceres, such as the wreaths and bunches of grain-ears, or, especially, the poppies and poppy flowers, and they have no composite wreaths of the type of *Ceres of the Golden Age* except on the lead tessera, already discussed. The cornucopia she carries associates her with the Eastern personifications of fertility and recalls the assimilations of the Ptolemaic queens with Agathe Tyche.[553] The contrast between the assimilations of Livia and Antonia may arise from the fact that Livia was officially deified, whereas Antonia was not. The representations of Antonia as Demeter/Ceres with their implications of fertility were therefore more ambiguous and vague then those of Livia. They may have been influenced by the Alexandrian preference for the cornucopia as the primary symbol of fertility and immortality. Antonia's connections with Egypt were stronger than were Livia's. Part of Antonia's childhood was spent with Cleopatra/Selene, the child of Antony and Cleopatra, whom Octavia took in after the death of Antony. The estates in Egypt which Antonia inherited from Antony certainly strengthened these ties.

Most of the assimilations of Antonia, except her coin portrait as Ceres concentrate on her function as *sacerdos*,[554] and they emphasise her own special status, almost divine, but without the crucial element, the decree of the Senate.

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[553] See p. 87 on the origins and symbolism of the cornucopia.

[554] See above, p. 136.

Claudius had it decreed that her image be drawn in the carriage during the Games on the birthday of Germanicus; and a public sacrifice to both Antonia and Germanicus was to be offered;[555] but no one testified to having seen her apotheosis. Probably as a result of her ambiguous status she is most often presented as Pietas and wears a diadem. For the pre-Claudian monuments which emphasize her role as the priestess of Divus Augustus, this is the correct assimilation.

Livilla (Claudia Livia Julia), the daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus and Antonia Minor, sister of Claudius and Germanicus. She was married to Gaius Caesar in 1 BC and widowed in 4 AD. She then married Julius Drusus, son of Tiberius and Vipsania. By Drusus, who died in 23 AD, Livilla had a son Tiberius Gemellus (put to death by the emperor Gaius), and a daughter Julia. Livilla was starved to death by her mother Antonia Minor in 31 AD.

The four assimilations of Livilla have sometimes been attributed to Julia Augusti.[556] All the representations are on cameos. The hairstyle of the woman corresponds to depictions of Livia dated to ca. 22 AD, best exemplified on coins of Livia issued under Tiberius.[557] The hair is arranged in waves and formed into a bun at the nape of the neck. The most distinctive feature of all of these representations of Drusilla/Julia Augusti is that the woman is shown lifting a fold of her robe with the same gesture as Triptolemos about to sow grain on the Claudian/Neronian cameos of Agrippina Minor. Within the fold two cameos show two children (the cameo in Paris, dated to 19 AD and the cameo in Berlin (cat. no. 104), on which one of the children is holding a cornucopia, the other a snake). On four cameos (cat. nos. 101, 102, 103 and 104) Livilla is wearing a wreath of grain-ears and poppy heads; on one (cat. no. 105) a wreath of grain-ears and olive leaves. The association with Ceres/Demeter is therefore certain. The iconography is a combination of Triptolemos' pouch or fold filled with seed,[558] the iconography of Tellus with whom Ceres was always closely associated[559] and the wreath of Ceres of the Golden Age. The ambiguity may be multi-layered because Ceres was also known as the mother of Liber and Libera.[560] There can be only one explanation why Livilla or Julia was represented as Ceres/Demeter/Tellus: both of them were mothers of more than one child. Livilla was the mother of two children and Julia, four. The Berlin cameo may show Livilla as Ceres, mother of Liber and Libera, in which case Libera would be depicted holding a snake,[561] and Liber a cornucopia.[562]

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[555] Suet. *Claud.* 11.

[556] See p. 135 above.

[557] Livia is shown on these coins as *Salus, Pietas* or *Iustitia*. For a discussion of these types see D. E. E. Kleiner and S. B. Matheson (eds.), *I Claudia, Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven, CT, 1996) p. 58, nos. 8-10.

The late Tiberian onyx cameo from Rome or (more probably) Alexandria (cat. no. 112) with a representation of Livia or Livilla reflects the syncretistic tendencies which would prevail after the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The empress is shown standing and leaning with her elbow on a pillar. She has her right shoulder exposed (a usual arrangement of the dress of Venus) and is holding a cornucopia filled with grapes (Bacchus) and pomegranates (Demeter/Persephone) in her left hand, and a caduceus (attribute of Pax) in her right. Her head is wreathed with grain-ears and olive leaves—the composite headdress of Demeter/Ceres of the Golden Age, goddess of the Elysian fields.

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[558] See pp. 29ff.

[559] See p. 96 for the references to Tellus with and without twins.

[560] Cicero (*Nat. D.* 2.24) talks about Liber and Libera as children of Ceres: *sed quos ex nobis natos liberos appellamus, idcirco Cerere nati nominati sunt Liber et Libera, quod Libera servaverant, in Libero non item*, "but Liber and Libera were so named as Ceres' offspring, that being the meaning of our word *liberi*, a use which survived in the case of *Libera* but not of *Liber*.

[561] For the snake in the iconography of Demeter see p. 47 above.

[562] For the cornucopia held by the chthonic Dionysos see p. 90 above, n. 392.

Agrippina Major (14 BC–33 AD), the daughter of Julia Augusti and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, married Germanicus in 5 AD, after his adoption by Tiberius into the Julian *gens*. She was mother of Agrippina Minor, Gaius, Drusilla and Livilla. She survived her husband's death in 19 AD, and in 29 AD was banished to Pandateria where she starved herself to death four years later. She was an extremely popular woman in Rome. She was perhaps a *Flaminica Divi Augusti*[563] which would explain why her portraits are often decked in the beaded fillet, the symbol of this priesthood. She was granted posthumous honours by Gaius in 37 AD,[564] and her ashes were placed in the Mausoleum of Augustus.

All the inscriptions of Agrippina Major which assimilate her with Ceres/Demeter come from the eastern provinces. This may be explained both by the pre-existing tradition of granting *isotheoi timai* to the important representatives of the ruling family, and by Agrippina's physical presence there, as she travelled throughout those provinces with Germanicus in the years 17–19 AD. In particular the birth of Julia Livilla on Lesbos in 18 AD[565] may have prompted the local council to honour her. Three inscriptions from Mytilene give Agrippina the title of *Aiolis Karpophoros*.[566] A coin of Mitylene, possibly from the same period, or struck under Gaius, names her *Thea Aiolis* (cat. no. 95). Only one coin, however, shows Agrippina with the attributes of Demeter, a bronze coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum in Lydia, on which she is shown standing, with a sceptre in her left hand and the ears of grain in her right (cat. no. 97), by the side of Germanicus who is veiled and holding a patera as Pontifex. It is possible that the coin was struck very shortly after the death of Gaius because his head on the obverse wears the *corona radiata*. The iconography of Agrippina Major on a coin of Gaius from Philadelphia in Lydia, however, displays a choice of fertility symbols more characteristic of Antonia Minor, since Agrippina is shown enthroned and diademed (or wreathed), holding a sceptre in her right hand and the cornucopia in her left (cat. no. 96).

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[563] As were also Livia and Antonia before her. See p. 132 above.

[564] Dio Cass. 59.3.5.

[565] Tac. *Ann.* 2.52.

On one cameo only Agrippina Major may (if the identification is correct) be assimilated to *Demeter/Ceres of the Golden Age*. The cameo in the Cabinet de Médailles in Paris (cat. no. 96-fig.) shows two highly idealized female busts, facing left with the closer bust (probably Agrippina Major—as a mother she should be more visible) veiled and wearing a composite wreath of olive and ears of grain. As in the case of Livia, the addition of the olive may have signified the immortal status of the imperial woman. The ears of grain in the wreath were executed in the Early Hellenistic style, long abandoned in Roman art (wreath Type 1), possibly in an attempt to "archaize" the representation. The other bust, which may represent Agrippina Minor, is wearing a low diadem, possibly symbolizing Persephone.

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[566] *IG*, 12. 2, no. 212; *CIG*, no. 3528; *IGR*, 4. no. 74 = *ILS* no. 8788 = *IGR*, 4, no. 1300; Mikocki (1988) no. 164. The same title (*Aiolis karpoporos*) appears on the following inscriptions: *IGR*, 4 no. 75; *IG*, 12. 2, no. 213 (W. Trillmich (1978), p. 117 and no. 393), Mikocki (1988) no. 165; c. Inscription *IG* 12. 2, no. 232 = *IV*, no. 99. All inscriptions are dated to approximately 18 AD.

Julia Agrippina (Minor) was born in 15 AD, the daughter of Nero Claudius Germanicus, (son of Nero Claudius Drusus, son of Livia, and Antonia Minor), and Agrippina Major. Through her mother, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia Augusti, (daughter of Augustus), Agrippina Minor was related to Augustus himself. She was the sister of Gaius, Julia Livilla and Drusilla. She was married three times. Her first marriage, to Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus[567] took place in 28 AD when she was 13 years old. Her son Lucius, the future emperor Nero, was born in 37 AD when Agrippina was 22 and Gaius had been the ruler of Rome for only nine months. Along with her other sisters Agrippina received all the privileges of the Vestal Virgins and was included in the prayers on behalf of the emperor as well as in the oath of allegiance to the emperor.[568] In 39 AD Gnaeus Domitius died. Agrippina was married to Passienus Crispus the same year, and soon afterwards was exiled by Gaius. Upon the assassination of Gaius in 41 AD, Agrippina was recalled from her exile. She exhumed the remains and performed funeral rites for Gaius whose body had been hastily cremated and buried in the Lemian gardens.[569] This decent treatment of her persecutor, generally hated at that time, shows the dedication of

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[567] The son of Antonia Major and Lucius Domitius, whose father was the supporter of Cassius and Brutus, then one of the generals of Mark Antony who stayed with him in Alexandria, and finally, and only for several days before he died, became a supporter of Augustus (Suet. *Ner.* 3). Suetonius describes all the Ahenobarbi in a very unfavourable light as cruel, arrogant and extravagant men.

[568] Dio Cass. 59.3.5.

[569] Suet. *Calig.* 59.

Agrippina to her family. Gaius had started his rule with a similar gesture towards his mother Agrippina Major.

Agrippina survived her personal enemy, Messalina, and in 49 AD married the successor to her brother, the emperor Claudius, her uncle.[570] Tacitus[571] portrays her as a strong, despotic and greedy character. He also states that power-hungry Agrippina, reserved and arrogant in public, was a woman of masculine determination who was obeyed without reservation by everyone. In 50 AD Claudius adopted her son Nero[572] and made him his heir, although he had a son of his own, Britannicus, by Messalina. In the same year Agrippina secured the title of *Augusta* for herself. The silver and gold coins begin to glorify her family at the same time.[573] Agrippina's interest in politics was not restricted to the court intrigues of the Urbs. Tacitus specifically notices that she took an interest in provincial affairs as well—she had a veteran colony settled in the capital of the Ubii (her birthplace) and named after her.[574]

In 54 AD Claudius died and was officially deified.[575] At the beginning of his rule the seventeen year old Nero was still strongly influenced by his mother who practically ruled as a regent.[576] This is the first case of a Roman woman who came close to having her political power recognized by the senate.[577] Until that time women realized their political ambitions through men, their husbands and especially their sons, although Livia exerted great influence on Augustus, and attempted to pursue her own policy without consulting Tiberius, especially at the beginning of his reign. There were many similarities between the situation of Livia in 14 AD and Agrippina Minor in 54 AD: in both cases the legitimacy of the rule of a son was in question. In the case of Tiberius, the main problem was the novelty of the idea of any succession at all, while in the case of Nero it was his young age and the fact that Britannicus, the son of Claudius, only three years younger, could easily become a centre of conspiracy.[578] Agrippina's importance was emphasized by the fact that she had her own Roman and German guards, a privilege she was later deprived of[579] when her relationship with Nero soured. Charged with treason she died in 59 AD by her son's orders. Her statues in Rome were pulled down.[580]

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[570] Suet. *Claud*. 25.

[571] Tac. *Ann*. 12.18 and 12.62.

[572] The adoption of Nero was the first case of an adoption into this branch of the Claudii (Tac. *Ann*. 12.23). The argument used to persuade Claudius was the precedent that Augustus adopted Tiberius over his grandsons, and that Tiberius adopted Germanicus over Drusus, his son. It is possible that behind the argument (of Pallas, supposedly a lover of Agrippina) was an attempt to secure the succession for a person with bloodline closest to Augustus.

[573] Trillmich (1978), pp. 32-35.

[574] Tac. *Ann*. 12.23.

[575] Suet. *Claud*. 45.

Agrippina was shown assimilated to Demeter/Ceres in inscriptions, coins (both

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[576] Suet. *Ner.* 9.

[577] Cf. Wood (1988) pp. 410ff., "Agrippina the Younger is known to have sought not only to exercise the powers of a regent in the early years of the reign of Nero, but to have her role officially recognized. Her mother's images thus played a role in one of the very rare efforts, perhaps the only one, by a Roman woman to establish herself as a head of state."

[578] The fear of conspiracy was permanent: it is symptomatic that the reason why Claudius had Messalina condemned was not so much her infidelities as the fact that by marrying Gaius Silius she divorced Claudius. In a fictitious speech composed by Tacitus, Silius offers not only to marry Messalina but also to adopt Britannicus. It is obvious that it was through Britannicus that Messalina was expected to stay in power, with Claudius replaced by Silius (Tac. *Ann.* 11.24).

[579] Suet. *Ner.* 34.

[580] Dio Cass. *Epitom.* 62.16.2a.

Roman and provincial), cameos and one sculpture. The identification of the empress is often difficult, mainly on account of the hairstyle which she shares with other imperial women of the time, especially Messalina.

Inscriptions

The inscriptions are provincial. One from Mitylene on Lesbos names her *Thea Aiolis Karpophoros*[581] and *Nea Thea Boulaia,*[582] probably also a title of the local Demeter. On Thermae on Lesbos she is *Thea Boulaia Aiolis Karpophoros.*[583] On Kos, she was called *Karpophoros.*[584] All these titles were once given to her mother Agrippina Major,[585] and on the surface they may seem to have been almost automatically granted to her daughter. In other cases, the process of presenting the imperial woman with an appropriate title was more complicated and certainly took the preference of the empress was into consideration. A few years before Agrippina Minor was called *Karpophoros* in Mytilene, her sister Drusilla had been called *Nea Aphrodite* in the same city. The majority of her representations show her as Venus Genetrix of the Julian line.

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[581] *IGR* IV, no. 77 = *IG*, XII, 2, no. 210 and corrigenda p. 140; *CIG* no. 2183; Robert, *REA*, 62, 1960, 289 no. 4. In Mitylene on Lesbos (*CIG* 2177) Tiberius was worshipped "*syn tais Theais tais peri ta mysteria.*" *CIG* 2175 defines those goddesses: "*Demetroskai theon karpophoron kai theon polykarpon kai teleforon.*" Another example is *IG* XII, 2, no. 258 = *IGR*, IV, no.100; CIG, no. 2182; Robert, *REA*, 62, 1960, 289.

[582] *IG*, XII, no. 211 = *IGR* IV, no. 81; Mikocki, no. 183.

[583] *IG* 12. 2. no. 208 = *IGR* 4. no. 22; L. Robert, *REA*, 62, 1960, 289; Mikocki (1988) 179.

[584] A. Maiuri, *Syll. ep. Rodi e Cos* (1925) no. 458 a) and b); Mikocki (1988) no. 184.

[585] See. p. 170.

Coins

Agrippina Minor was the first Roman empress to have her portrait shown on coins of the Roman mint in her own lifetime - on an aureus of Claudius minted in 51 AD (cat. no. 107-fig.).[586] The coins of Agrippina Minor, struck at Rome by Claudius and Nero are of high denominations (aurei and denarii) and usually show her head crowned with the wreath of grain-ears (cat. no. 108). The provincial issues repeat this iconography: *Thea Agrippina* on a coin of Cyme in Aeolis is veiled and wreathed with grain-ears (cat. no. 109), *Agrippina Sebaste* from Acmonea in Asia has two ears of grain and a poppy in front of the bust (cat. no. 110), *Magneton Agrippina Sebaste* on a coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum (cat. no. 111) shows Agrippina as Demeter and Nero together, Agrippina holding a bunch of grain ears in her right hand and a sceptre in her left, Nero holding a short sceptre in his left. A coin of Ephesos dated to 49-50 AD shows the wreathed heads of Claudius and Agrippina Minor, Agrippina wearing the wreath of grain-ears (cat. no. 112). The same most elementary attribute of Demeter appears twice on a coin of Alexandria (issues of 51/52 AD and 52/53 AD, cat. no. 113) which shows on its obverse the bust of *Agrippina Sebaste* and on the reverse the bust of *Euthenia*. The common feature of almost all these coins of Agrippina Minor is that they do not show her as a full-figure assimilation of Demeter/Ceres.

Cameos

Agrippina Minor has the attributes of Demeter/Ceres on eight cameos. Three show her (or perhaps Messalina) as Demeter/Ceres riding in a chariot with Triptolemos, who represents either Claudius or Nero. The identification with

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[586] See Wood (1988) p. 421.

Agrippina Minor of the female figure assimilated with Ceres is insecure in two cases (a sardonyx cameo in Paris, cat. no. 116-fig.[587] and a sardonyx cameo in the Hermitage, cat. no. 117). The third cameo is a relief decorating an onyx vase (in Brunschweig Museum, cat. no. 118-fig.).

There is no iconographic precedent for the scene of Demeter/Ceres riding together with Triptolemos in her snake chariot.[588] The most frequently represented chariot-driving divinity is naturally Helios; the others are Hades[589] and Poseidon.[590] It seems that gradually the steeds of chariots belonging to specific gods were adjusted to take some of their owners' characteristics. The snakes yoked to the chariot of Demeter/Ceres emphasize the chthonic character of this goddess as much as the sea-horses (*ketoi*) reflect the character of the realm of Poseidon. In the scene of the Mission of Triptolemos, from the beginning of the fifth century BC on, Demeter was represented by the side of Triptolemos who was shown seated in a chariot or standing by it. On the late Hellenistic silver plate from Aquilea (Comparanda 21-C) Demeter/Ceres is seated above and away from Triptolemos who is standing by the chariot. The iconography of the Mission was well known in Roman art[591] which seems to repeat the Greek pattern, as the wall painting in Pompeii shows (cat. nos. 31 and 32). The only scene which may have provided the iconographic inspiration for the type of Demeter riding in a chariot together with anyone, is the depiction of her travelling with Helios (or Apollo Phoibos) on an Apulian volute crater in Paris.[592]

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[587] The most common belief is that Triptolemos and Demeter are Claudius and Messalina, but E. Simon, *Portlandvase* (Mainz, 1957) p. 61, believes that they are Claudius and Agrippina Minor. The volumen held by Ceres may, as Babelon, Coll. Waddington (1898), once suggested, remind the viewer that she is the Legifera, although there is no iconographic precedent for it at all.

[588] For Triptolemos in his chariot alone and for Demeter/Ceres in a snake or a horse-drawn chariot see p. 29 and Comparanda 17-C.

[589] Shown in the scene of the Rape of Persephone.

[590] For example the marine thiasos with Poseidon/Neptune and Amphitrite on the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus.

[591] See p. 30.

The scene of Demeter/Ceres sharing the chariot with Triptolemos has no mythical justification, so far as we know. It is an artificial creation which illustrates the current highly eclectic religious philosophy, and is influenced by the Ptolemaic tradition of the ruler as the divine sower Triptolemos.[593] The complex image certainly served the general imperial propaganda well. On the one hand it emphasized the unity of the Roman world and the Greek world in the task of bringing civilization to the western provinces, especially Britannia and Gallia; on the other hand it glorified the unity of the Imperial Julio-Claudian family. Claudius on the first two cameos and Nero on the third represent the Roman forces of civilization, based on power, wealth and prosperity. Demeter/Ceres is the representative of the Greek world, the older civilization, actively cooperating with Rome, the centre of the new civilized world. At the same time the cooperation of the Julian Agrippina with the Claudian Claudius is shown.

On the first two cameos Agrippina (or Messalina) is the inactive figure while

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[592] Comparanda 17-C, in the Louvre, no. 3512, dated to the second half of the 4th century BC (*LIMC*, no. 459). It may illustrate the myth of Demeter going to the Garden of the Hesperides, "where the golden apples grow" in her search for Kore - the chariot of Helios is sailing along Oceanus in a boat led by Hermes (Psychopompos?) holding a cross-torch downwards, a Corybant behind (*RVAp*.II 1023, 39; Tarantine group 7013). Demeter is represented travelling in a chariot either with Persephone in the scene of her daughter's apotheosis or, as I believe, Hecate (*LIMC*, no. 298) on a metope from Selinus dated ca. 570 BC. In both cases the iconography can be explained by the myth and seems to indicate an apotheosis.

[593] Schwartz (1987) p. 172. The flying figure on the onyx vase may represent Virgo ushering in either the Claudian or Neronian (yet another) Golden Age.

Claudius/Triptolemos is visibly in front of the composition and seems to be driving the chariot. The message of these cameos has several levels of meaning, complimentary to the female partner of Triptolemos. At first glance the empress/Demeter looks as if she were dependent on the driver. She goes where Triptolemos/Caesar takes her, in compliance with the traditional role of a woman who follows her male relative: her father, husband or adult son.[594] On the surface, therefore, Triptolemos is the main hero of the cameo: he delivers Ceres/the bread, that is, civilization to mankind. To those who knew the myth, however—that is to all Roman and Greek viewers—it was obvious that Demeter is the active power behind all actions undertaken by Triptolemos whom she "adopted", indirectly immortalized, brought to power and furnished with everything needed to carry out his mission, including his chariot. Thus the cameos reveal the knowledge of the real role of the empress and acknowledge her leading position in court politics. On an even deeper level the scenes may contain a hidden promise of immortality through deification—Triptolemos, an initiate of Demeter and her messenger eventually became a god.

The motif of Triptolemos and Ceres probably appeared on the Claudian cameos in the context of some specific historical events. Claudius' great care for the grain supply is a well known fact.[595] Tacitus recorded that one of the only two people the emperor trusted during the crisis following the marriage of Messalina with Silius was the *curator annonae*.[596] Suetonius recorded the interest Claudius took in the

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[594] Vergil shows it very plainly in the *Aeneid* (2.710-11) where Creusa is asked by Aeneas to follow him—literally walk behind him—*mihi parvus sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.*

[595] Suet. *Claud.* 18 and 20.

[596] Tac. *Ann.* 11.

Eleusinian Mysteries,[597] which may partly explain the choice of the subject in general. A more specific occasion for ordering the luxurious cameos may have been Claudius' accession itself in 41 AD, in which case they would serve to emphasize his connection with the Claudians as well as the Julians since the Claudian Livia was the first to popularize the assimilation with Demeter on a large scale. For Claudius, another Claudian descendant, the only Demeter-related role available would be that of Triptolemos. The representation of Claudius as *Neos Triptolemos* emphasized both his links with Livia and the Claudian associations with Demeter. At the same time such an assimilation did not depart widely from the imagery of Augustus who himself was represented in at least one case as *Neos Triptolemos*. The Claudian repetition of the Secular Games and the 800th anniversary of Rome[598] in 47 AD may also have been the occasion commemorated by the cameos.[599] The Secular Games were indirectly related to the Golden Age myth with which Triptolemos was strongly associated.[600] This strictly Roman celebration would also explain, I think, why Triptolemos is shown sowing grain from the fold of the *paludamentum* worn over his armour—the Roman general's campaign attire—while Demeter is traditionally dressed in the Greek chiton. Claudius/Triptolemos dressed in the combat style may recall the emperor's campaign in Britain and the subsequent triumph. The Claudian Triptolemos would therefore be the god who introduces wealth and civilization[601] through the gifts of Demeter, yet who does it in the tradition of the *Pax Romana*, with peace (and civilization) following the conquest.

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[597] Suet. *Claud.* 25, 5, *sacra Eleusinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus est.*

[598] Suet. *Claud.* 21 and Tac. *Ann.* 11.10.

[599] As argued by Alföldi (1973) pp. 584ff.

[600] See above p. 43.

[601] See pp. 29ff.

The woman represented as Demeter/Ceres on two of the cameos discussed above is often identified as Messalina. This identification of Demeter/Ceres with Messalina is, I believe, not very secure. Messalina was certainly shown as Demeter only once, on an Alexandrian coin of Claudius dated 41-46 AD with an inscription *Messalina Kais Sebaste*, which shows her dressed in a chiton and peplos, veiled, with two ears of wheat in her left hand and her two children on her right, outstretched hand (cat. no. 124). The source of power and main achievement of Messalina was her offspring, one of them male, in all probability the future emperor, and her iconography generally attempted to give her credit for this.[602] I do not therefore believe that Messalina is the figure represented as Demeter/Ceres on two of the "Triptolemos cameos" unless they were produced before the birth of the two children which is not very likely. The children of Claudius and Messalina, Britannicus and Claudia Octavia were born in ca. 41 AD and 42 AD, respectively while Claudius became emperor in 41 AD. The cameos would have had to be executed before 41 BC, otherwise the presence of children would certainly be marked. Agrippina Minor, who stepped into the role of the powerful empress in 49 AD with great ruthlessness and determination, was much more the Demeter/Ceres type than Messalina. She was assimilated with Demeter/Ceres almost as often as Livia had been, so she seems a more obvious choice for the identification with the empress on the "Triptolemos" cameos. The most probable occasion for the execution of the "Triptolemos cameo" which involved Agrippina Minor would be the tenth anniversary of Claudius' rule in 51 AD, three years after she married Claudius. It is not an impossible conclusion that this anniversary, although less spectacular, could have been the occasion when all the past achievements (described above) of Claudius were celebrated together and may have prompted the commissioning of the cameos.

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[602] As, for instance, the cameo in the Cabinet de Médailles in Paris, no. 277, which shows Messalina with her children, Britannicus and Octavia, the bust of the boy emerging from the horn of plenty, the bust of the girl as Minerva shown below. Megow, p. 303ff, D.39, pl. 18,1.

On the relief onyx vase (cat. no. 118-fig.), on which (probably) Nero replaced Claudius as Triptolemos, Agrippina's identity is clear. The empress is standing at the back of the chariot, holding a bunch of grain-ears and poppies. Nero is driving the chariot. Among the many other figures the most important are Tellus reclining on the ground, facing the chariot, and the winged figure flying above and slightly in front of the chariot. Tellus embodies the Earth waiting for the seed of Ceres, while the winged figure, according to both Schwartz and Simon,[603] most probably represents Virgo/Parthenos, the astrological symbol of the Golden Age,[604] inseparable from the divine Sower. If the identification of Triptolemos as Nero is correct, the cameo was probably produced very early in his reign when his relations with his mother were excellent[605] and when the mother-son partnership may have promised the return of the Golden Age. It is also possible that Nero, as Claudius and Augustus before him, reached for the symbolic return of the Golden Age to increase the legitimacy of his rule.

The remaining cameos of Agrippina Minor/Ceres show the empress either wearing the laurel wreath tied with a beaded fillet and holding a bunch of grain-ears and poppies in her left hand as on the sardonyx cameo in Paris (cat. no. 119), or the wreath of poppies and grain ears as on the Hermitage cameo (cat. no. 120) on which her bust is represented facing the bust of an emperor (Claudius?) wearing the *corona radiata* with a small bust of Nero (possibly) in between. Two other cameos show a higher degree of syncretism. One from Cologne, the so called Jupiter Cameo, (cat. no. 121) dated to ca. 57/61 AD, shows Agrippina crowning Nero/Jupiter with the wreath held in her right hand. Agrippina is wearing a wreath of grain-ears arranged in the shape of a lotus flower, a sign of the iconographic syncretism of Demeter with Isis,[606] and holding a cornucopia in her left hand. On the *Gemma Claudia* (cat. no. 122) with busts of Claudius with Agrippina Minor on the left and Germanicus with Agrippina Major on the right, all growing out from cornucopiae, Agrippina Minor is wearing a *corona muralis* and a wreath of grain-ears and poppies.

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[603] Schwartz (1987) pp. 172 and 173, and E. Simon *Portlandvase* (1957) p. 61. Simon identifies here Germanicus and Agrippina; A. Alföldi, "*Redeunt Saturnia Regna* VII," *Chiron* 9 (1979) p. 584, argues that the man and woman are Claudius and Agrippina Minor.

[604] On the symbols of the Golden Age see pp. 84ff.

[605] Suet. *Ner*. 9.

Sculpture

The relief with a representation of Agrippina Minor joined in *dextrarum iunctio* with Claudius and holding in her left hand a bunch of ears of grain (cat. no. 114), from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias in Caria, is the only sculptural monument showing Agrippina Minor with these primary attributes of Demeter/Ceres. The assimilation, although modest, is very important for the study of Julio-Claudian iconography. The Sebasteion was founded by members of two local families with the intention of glorifying the Julio-Claudian rulers in the city which specially venerated the Julian Genetrix, Venus, and which enjoyed some privileges on that account. The building complex, its design based on the Augustan forum, was planned or begun under Tiberius and completed under Nero. It suffered from an earthquake during the rule of Claudius and was reconstructed extensively during his reign. The sculptural decoration of the Sebasteion is likely to have been planned in consultation with the supreme authorities at Rome.[607] The representation of Agrippina Minor as Demeter/Ceres conveyed messages ranging from very general assurances of continued prosperity and wealth under the rule of Claudius and Agrippina Minor, to the promise of the return of the Golden Age, to the continuation of the Claudian line (and policy) of Augustus and Livia, to the reminder of the maternal authority of the empress. The last of these concepts was expressed by another relief of the Sebasteion (cat. no. 115) which shows Agrippina Minor, with a cornucopia in her left hand crowning Claudius with a laurel wreath.

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[606] On the syncretism of Demeter with Isis, see p. 45.

Drusilla, born ca. 16 AD, the second daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, the sister of Gaius. She was married twice (first to L. Cassius Longinus, afterwards to M. Aemilius Lepidus). She died in 38 AD.[608]

During the brief reign of Gaius various forms of the ruler cult were allowed and encouraged even in Rome itself. As Susan Wood[609] points out, Gaius was extremely innovative in elevating his family, in the deification of Drusilla and in the honours showered upon his sisters. By a senatorial decree, his grandmother Antonia and three sisters, Agrippina Minor, Drusilla and Livilla, received all the privileges of the Vestal Virgins at the same time. The sisters were also included in the prayers said on the emperor's behalf and in the oath of allegiance. The decree was of great importance, because it put them on practically the same standing as the emperor himself.[610] In a move closer to the Egyptian than the Roman tradition of succession, Gaius, during a serious illness, made a will in which he left Drusilla, his sister, all his estate and the Empire as well. He stressed his anti-Claudian and pro-Julian sympathy constantly. He intimated that his mother was born of Augustus and his own daughter Julia: an incestuous union.[611] Tiberius was given a public funeral as his only honour: in the eulogy Gaius spoke more about Augustus and his father Germanicus then the dead emperor.[612] He also neglected to deify Livia, although she died in 29 AD, and insinuated that she was of low birth.[613] When Drusilla died, she was granted posthumously all the honours of Livia and she was deified as well. The deified Drusilla was named *Panthea*—in this way the ambiguity of the iconography of the imperial women was given a name: all-goddess, all virtues suggesting a divinity of a new quality, a goddess who could be shown with all possible attributes.[614] By the decree of the senate the golden statue of Drusilla was to be set up in the Senate house and another one, an *agalma*—the cult statue[615]—of the same size as the statue of the goddess herself, in the temple of Venus in the Forum Iulium.[616] The Roman women were to swear by Drusilla's name. She was also voted a shrine of her own, and twenty priests—both women and men. Drusilla's birthday was to be celebrated with a festival equal to the *Ludi Megalenses*, a festival traditionally celebrated by the aristocracy. The Senate and the equites were to be given a banquet on that occasion.[617] The deification, which follows the pattern established by the deification of Augustus, was carried out by the Senate, and was substantiated by the testimony of a senator Livius Geminius[618] who swore that he saw Drusilla ascending to heaven and conversing with the gods. Livius was paid for this service a million sesterces. As Susan Wood has noticed, the only unusual feature in this description of the divine honours lavished upon Drusilla is Gaius' inability to decide whether Drusilla should be mourned or not. It is possible that the main question was whether Drusilla, when still alive, was the living deity after the Egyptian fashion, or not. If she was the living goddess, the mourning would be an act of disbelief. After the death of Augustus, mourning was not prohibited;[619] on the contrary, it was required by an edict and was obligatory for men for a few days, and for women for the whole year. But the new divine status of Augustus would not allow his mask to be included in any funeral procession. It seems that Gaius, with his edicts on mourning, attempted to deify Drusilla following partly the Roman tradition and partly the Eastern, probably Egyptian, one. In 39 AD Gaius returned from Campania specially to celebrate the birthday of Diva Drusilla. During the two day festival her statue was brought into the Circus in a cart drawn by elephants, as was decreed before that for Augustus,[620] and later for Livia by Claudius.

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[607] R. R. R. Smith, "The imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 77 (1987) pp. 94 and 96.

[608] Dio Cass. 59.11.

[609] S. Wood, "Diva Drusilla Panthea," *AJA* 99 (1995) p. 458.

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[610] Dio Cass. 59.3.5.

[611] Suet. *Calig*. 23. This might reflect the Orphic ideology: Zeus, with whom Augustus was often assimilated, had the mystic child Dionysos/Zagreos by his daughter Persephone.

[612] Dio Cass. 59.3.8. Probably at that time only a Julian by blood could achieve that honour. If so, the refusal to deify Livia would be understandable.

[613] Suet. *Calig*. 23.

[614] For the concept of Augustus as *Pantheos* see L. A. Curchin, "Cult and Celt: indigenous participation in emperor worship in Central Spain," in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. A. Small. *JRS* Sup. 17 (Ann Arbor, 1996) p. 146.

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[615] For the discussion on the various terms defining a character of the image see Fishwick, vol. I.1, p. 58.

[616] The temple was the Julian foundation where the statue of Cleopatra was set up as well. For the gold statue (*eikon*) of Cleopatra by the side of the Venus Genetrix in the cella of the temple see Appian, *BCiv.* 2.102; cf. Dio Cass. 51.22.3.

[617] Dio Cass. 59.11.1-3.

[618] Dio Cass. 59.11.4.

[619] Dio Cass. 56.43.1.

Drusilla's many assimilations have been studied by Mikocki[621] In most cases she was assimilated to Aphrodite as *Nea Aphrodite*. In only one case, a coin of Gaius dated to 37/38 AD (cat. no. 99-fig.) from Smyrna, was Drusilla assimilated to Demeter and represented as the classical *Greek Spicifera*: enthroned, wreathed, holding a sceptre in her left hand and a poppy with two grain-ears in her right.

Valeria Messalina Claudii, daughter of M. Valerius Messala and Domitia Lepida, the granddaughter of Octavia, became the wife of Claudius ca. 38/40 AD, and by him the mother of Claudia Octavia (in 41 AD) and Britannicus (42 AD). She was assimilated with Ceres/Demeter on the Alexandrian coins of Claudius (cat. no. 124) on which she is represented resting her left hand with two ears of grain on a pillar and holding in her right outstretched hand figurines of her children. If the identification of Messalina in the statue from the theatre in Caere is correct (cat. no. 123),[622] she may have been represented as the classical Kore as well, because the statue is in the type of the Kore Albani.[623]

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[620] Suet. *Claud.* 11.

[621] Mikocki (1988) p. 304.

[622] For the discussion of the portrait statue (now in Museo Gregoriano Profano) see M. Fuchs, P. Liverani and P. Santoro, *Caere 2, Il teatro e il ciclo statuario Giulio-Claudio* (Rome, 1989) 76, no. 8.

Claudia Octavia, the daughter of Messalina and Claudius, was assimilated to Demeter/Ceres on one Eastern provincial coin only, from Sardis in Lydia (cat. no. 126) on which Demeter was the city goddess.[624] Sardis minted the coin[625] (ca. 62 AD) for Octavia, possibly to commemorate her death in that year although Octavia was banished by order of Nero, her husband, and later executed on a charge of adultery.[626] The young woman was represented as Demeter/Ceres on the obverse and associated with her on the reverse of the coin. The obverse shows her bust with the head adorned with a distinctive wreath of grain-ears tied with a beaded fillet (or a string of pearls) at the back, possibly to identify her as *flaminica Claudialis*, if she shared this priesthood with Agrippina Minor. The inscription calls her *Thea Octavia*. The reverse shows Demeter/Ceres in the chariot of snakes, holding torches in both hands. The crescent moon above the chariot may associate her also with Hecate or Isis. If the coin was struck after the death of Claudia Octavia in 62 AD, the motif of Demeter with torches in the snake chariot would be used for the first time to honour the dead imperial woman. This became a common motif on sarcophagi in the second century AD.

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[623] For the classical Demeter statuary types and the statue of Kore "who looks after the grain" in Cyrene, see D. White, "Cyrene's Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone. A summary of a Decade of Excavation," *AJA* 85 (1981).

[624] Apoll. Tyan. *Epist.* 408, calls her *philanthropos*.

[625] *BMC* Lydia, 254, no. 125), Babelon, Coll. Waddington (1898) no. 5243-5; Mikocki (1988) no. 229, pl. 5; *RPC* 2999.

[626] Suet. *Ner.* 35; Dio Cass. *Epitom.* 61.13.

Poppaea Sabina, the second wife of Nero was empress from 62 until 65 AD. She was the mother of Claudia Augusta, who was born 63 AD and died four months later in the same year. The fact that Poppaea lost her daughter may have prompted the city moneyers of Ikonion in Lycaonia to strike the coin (cat. no. 127-fig.)[627] with Poppaea as *Demeter Spicifera*: enthroned, with the sceptre in her left hand and a poppy in her right. The choice of the type may also be related to the local cult of Demeter Achaia at Iconium.[628] A coin of Acmonea in Phrygia (cat. no. 128-fig.) (dated to ca. 64 AD) shows the bust of Poppaea on the obverse. Poppaea is wreathed with grain-ears and has a lion on her shoulder — a possible association with both Demeter and Cybele.

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[627] Mikocki (1988) no. 233, pl. 8, including bibliography.

[628] Farnell, vol. 3, no. 60, p. 324 and p. 70 for the cult of Demeter Achaia, probably meaning " the sorrowing one".

CONCLUSION

The Roman iconography of Demeter/Ceres originated in Magna Graecia, most probably the home of the first artists who decorated the temple on the Aventine in the fifth century BC. South Italian iconography emphasized on the one hand the power of Demeter/Ceres over grain through her grain-wreath and grain-bunch, and on the other, the chthonic character of the goddess through the use of attributes such as the torch and the snake. Until ca. mid-second century BC the wreath used in the iconography of Demeter/Ceres is of the Sicilian type, then the grain-ears used in the wreath change shape to resemble the grain-ears known from the art of Pergamon. In the first century BC the old type of the wreath is used only once to emphasize the *antiquitas* of the head of the (probable) Aventine cult statue of Demeter/Ceres represented on the aureus of Mussidius Longus, dated to 42 BC. It is not used for the assimilations of the imperial women. The political character of grain shortages and grain supply in the late Republic and under the early Empire influenced the dominant image of the goddess, that of grain-rich *Spicifera*. In the same period, however, interest in the mystery religions and religious philosophy gave rise to a new type of iconography of Demeter/Ceres, the goddess of the Golden Age and the Eleusinian Mysteries through whose rites certain mythical heroes, such as Hercules and Triptolemos, were deified. In this context the grain ear becomes a symbol of the coming age of supernatural abundance as well as rebirth and immortality, and the number of grain ears gains mystic significance.

The grain-bearing powers of Demeter/Ceres were shared by her, in myth as well as in iconography, by her leading deified initiate and adopted son, Triptolemos to whom both Augustus and Claudius were assimilated. As a goddess of growth and mysteries Demeter/Ceres was associated in iconography, and sometimes also in worship, with Dionysos/Liber.

The influence of the Eleusinian Mysteries changed the Roman perception of the goddess. The most prominent Romans such as Sulla, Cicero, Atticus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Mark Antony and Octavian took part in the Eleusinian initiation rites. A highly complex and difficult to define connection between the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter, the ideology of the arrival of the Golden Age and the belief that outstanding individuals become higher beings/divinities after death found visual expression in an eclectic imagery. Some of its elements belong to the iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries, while others relate more closely to beliefs either in the privileged afterlife for Demeter's initiates in Elysium/Islands of the Blessed or to the Golden Age with its abundance. The main attributes of Demeter/Ceres as a Mystery goddess which appear in the assimilations of the imperial women were the beaded fillets and the torch or torches. The beaded fillet which probably symbolized the purity of the goddess is known from Apulian vase painting (in the chthonic context), the scenery of the Eleusinian Mysteries (as represented on the Ninnion tablet), the decoration of Hellenistic circular funerary altars (in the context of other vegetal attributes of Demeter) and on the Great Altar at Pergamon, where it decorates the head of the goddess usually identified as Nyx, but who is, in fact, Demeter or Persephone. The torch the goddess holds in her representations has various shapes. The thick "Eleusinian" type of torch, known from the iconography of the initiations at Eleusis, is not used in the assimilations of the imperial women. Demeter/Ceres represented in the wall paintings in Pompeii holds a tall, ornamental torch of a different shape. A similar type of torch is shown on a fragment of an altar from the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon. Livia and Antonia, assimilated to Demeter/Ceres, bear these Hellenistic ornamental torches known from various other representations of the *Mystic* Ceres. A torch or two torches tied with a beaded fillet are likewise represented on coins of Antonia, most probably in association with her role as a priestess of the deified Augustus.

Since Hellenistic times Demeter/Ceres had many complex associations with other deities besides Dionysos: Apollo/Aion, Plutos/Wealth, Tellus and also with Virgo, the constellation which was believed to lead in the returning Golden Age. Demeter/Ceres was the giver of grain from which bread, food of civilized men was made. She was *Legifera*, by whose laws civilized people lived. She was also the goddess whose outstanding mythical initiates, Heracles, Dionysos, the Dioscouroi and Asclepios achieved immortality and status of gods, and the lesser ones enjoyed privileged afterlife in Elysium/Islands of the Blessed. These associations were known to educated viewers, and were appropriate politically, especially at the time of Augustus. These factors also contributed to the choice of this goddess as an assimilation for a number of the imperial women, starting with Livia whose Claudian family had venerated the goddess in the past. It is characteristic that until the end of the Julio-Claudian period only the imperial women are represented as Demeter/Ceres.[629]

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[629] Werde (1981) p. 219. The first known non-imperial woman represented as Demeter/Ceres was Sallia Daphne (80-100 AD) on her cinerary urn (Werde, cat. no. 76). She was shown enthroned, holding a torch in her left hand and a bunch of grain-ears in her right. From the same period (70-100 AD) comes the first assimilation of a deceased Roman woman, Valeria Fusca, on her funerary altar, in a scene from the Abduction of Persephone (Werde, p. 271, and Altmann, p. 160, no. 199).

The iconography of the assimilations does not faithfully copy the iconography of the goddess. It uses a wide range of symbols which reflect the many associations of Demeter/Ceres, the current complex beliefs of the Romans in the afterlife, as well as ambiguity of the new creation, that of the deified (although not always officially) woman, the member of the sacred family of the Julii, and then also of the Claudii. Few assimilations, especially in statuary and on cameos, use the pure imagery of Demeter/Ceres, more common of coins. The composite wreaths which decorate the heads of the imperial women in statuary and on cameos consist not only of grain ears, but also of poppy pods, laurel leaves, olive, oak, acorns, poppy flowers, acanthus and palm. Such wreaths, with their variety of plant-life used to construct them belong to the same type of imagery as fruit-flower-and leaf garlands, flowering scrolls, and cornucopiae filled with ears of grain, fruit and flowers. They all had Hellenistic precedents: wreaths of all kinds gained wide popularity after the beginning of the Hellenistic Age, garlands were highly valued as decoration on Hellenistic circular altars, and the Ptolemaic queens were often represented with cornucopiae. Each of these iconographic devices offered the compressed equivalent of the Elysium/Golden Age with its promise of abundance and immortality. The Garden Room paintings in the House of Livia represent the "unfolded" version of the ever-flourishing and fruiting Elysian/Golden Age earth, filled with the vegetation associated with Demeter/Ceres and free of all plants which might symbolize death.

Cornucopiae which the women assimilated to Demeter/Ceres were sometimes given, never belonged to the attributes of Demeter/Ceres yet were associated with her through Ploutos, her son by Iasion. In Roman iconography the cornucopia became one of the attributes of the Genius of Augustus, whose worship prepared the Romans for the official cult of the emperor.

The majority of assimilations to Demeter/Ceres belong to two Julio-Claudian empresses, Livia and Agrippina Minor. Livia certainly set an example for the imperial women in her family and the empresses who followed her. Livia's choice of Demeter/Ceres for her assimilations may have been caused, as is generally assumed, by the mature, maternal and feminine picture of the chaste yet fertile goddess, presented by myth and tradition. It is possible that introduction of the assimilation of Livia to Demeter/Ceres marked the new stage in the life of the Empire: the orderly and peaceful image of Livia/Ceres may have replaced the image of Dea Roma, symbol of conquest and the military presence of Rome. As I show, some past associations with Demeter (especially through Appius Claudius Pulcher who erected the Lesser Propylaea at Eleusis), of Livia's birth family (Claudian), and her husband's initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries were also relevant to the rise of the imagery of Livia as Ceres.

The iconography of the assimilations of Livia to Demeter/Ceres seems to stress the polysemantic image of Demeter/Ceres as the divinity who brings back the Golden Age and helps to achieve immortality. The earliest assimilations of Livia date to the Augustan Age, the majority are Tiberian, a few are Claudian. The iconography of Livia/Ceres increased in ambiguity proportionally to the visibility and public importance of her representations. With one exception (a Claudian dupondius) all coins are provincial and show Livia with the typical attributes of the Greek *Spicifera*/Demeter: the grain-wreath, the grain bunch and a sceptre. The cameos and statuary reflect the imagery of Ceres of Elysium and the Golden Age; the wreaths are composite. The plants and attributes were deliberately chosen for their significance;

the character of the statuary assimilations changes after the deification of Livia. The above lifesize statues are now diademed, with olive leaves, associated with immortality, replacing the usual laurel, the plant of priests. The beaded fillet often worn by Livia's assimilations to Demeter/Ceres, most probably a symbol of her office of the priestess of Divus Augustus, seems to disappear after the deification. The iconography of the new kind of deity, the deified imperial woman, was flexible, polysemantic, and did not copy faithfully the tradition-sanctioned iconography of Demeter/Ceres, except on coins. This is true also for the assimilations of Agrippina Minor, shown on cameos as Demeter/Ceres riding in a snake-chariot with Triptolemos, who in the iconography of his myth is never represented sharing the chariot with the goddess. Aurei and denarii of Agrippina, the first empress shown on coins in her lifetime, represent her in a wreath of grain-ears. Antonia Minor's statuary and cameos have the cornucopia as the attribute of fertility and immortality although her coins show her in a grain-wreath. The complex iconography of the assimilations of the Julio-Claudian women represented *sub specie Cereris* reflect the problems faced by the conservative Roman society as it adjusted to the imperial ruler cult.

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APPENDIX ONE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PLANTS IN ELYSIAN IMAGERY

Wheat/Barley

The significance of wheat and barley under the Republic has been discussed above in Chapter Two.[630] In the early Imperial iconography[631] of the goddess the grain-ears in the wreath, or bunch, diadem decoration or in the basket standing by the goddess, or held by her, remain the most important attribute of Demeter/Ceres. She is consistently portrayed as *Spicifera* unless she is shown as *Mystica* and even then usually an ear of grain is included in the picture.

This grain-focused image did not fit very well with the Golden Age/Elysian account. The Greek literary vision of both Elysium/Islands of the Blessed and the Earth in the Golden Age contains few images of wheat or grain because its growth required heavy physical work. The main focus was on leisure and feasting. It may be, however, that Demeter's mysteries and the role they played in shaping a new approach to the afterlife during the Hellenistic Age explain the very forceful presence of grain-rich fields that enters the picture of the Golden Age and the Islands of the Blessed. The background of traditional respect for agriculture intensified this image in Roman poetry. In Ovid's account of the Golden Age the earth is the provider of all food without any effort on the part of man: *ipsa . . . inmunis rastroque intacta nec ullis/ saucia vomeribus per se dabat omnia tellus,*[632] who lived on wild fruit—arbutus, strawberries, cornel-cherries, berries, acorns—which grew *natos sine semine* even though the flowers did not go to seed in the everlasting spring. But grain is also included in this picture: *mox etiam fruges tellus inarata ferebat, / nec renovatus ager gravidis canebat aristis.*[633] Since grain was always held to be the gift of Demeter and the symbol of the goddess herself,[634] by emphasizing the image of heavy ears of grain growing on the virgin earth Ovid as well as Vergil[635] and Horace[636] asserted Demeter's role in the literary picture of the Golden Age/Islands of the Blessed. The ears of wheat growing by the side of the seated goddess appear on the Ara Pacis (Comparanda 38-C–41-C). The many instances of grain-ears appearing within the fruit and leaf garlands are described above.[637] In a few cases the grain of Demeter is joined in an image with the laurel, the plant of Apollo. Both laurel and grain decorate the funeral altar of Annia Cassia in Perugia:[638] on the shorter side a laurel tree,[639] and on the longer side a large wreath of grain-ears tied at the bottom and held by two Erotes.[640] A similar combination of Apollo with Ceres has been used for the Roman denarius of L. Aquillius Florus dated to ca. 19–4 BC[641] which shows a radiate head of Sol/Phoebus Apollo on the obverse and a slow quadriga with a *modius*-shaped cart with three ears of grain protruding from it on the reverse.

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[630] See pp. 15ff., esp. p. 19.

[631] See pp. 104ff.

[632] Ov. *Met.* 1.101.

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[633] Ov. *Met.* 1.109–110.

[634] See p. 17f.

[635] *Ecl.* 4.28, *molli paulatim flavescet campus arista*, "slowly shall the plain yellow with the weaving grain-ears."

[636] *Epod.* 16.39ff.

[637] Spaeth (1987) p. 73.

[638] Altmann, no. 254 (Comparanda 47-C).

[639] Altmann, op. cit., fig. 152a.

[640] Altmann, op. cit., fig. 152.

The ears of grain were sometimes added to the fruit and leaf swags. They are outlined in a shallow relief as they grow out of the fruit swag on the altar of P. Fundanius Velinus.[642] The Julio-Claudian fragment of the marble frieze from Pan Calente, Merida, very prominently depicts two ears of grain growing, next to olive branches and laurel branches, out of the apple-pine cone fruit swag.[643] On the Tiberian altar of Amemptus, the freedman of Livia, the grain-ears are visible within the fruit and leaf swag.[644]

Poppy Pods and Poppy Flowers

Poppy pods symbolize both fertility/life and death.[645] Vergil refers to the poppy as "steeped in Lethean sleep."[646] Pliny[647] distinguished several kinds of poppy, three of the cultivated kind, whose heads are round and big, others of the wild variety with elongated and small heads. Ovid says that Ceres stayed her fast with a long *papaverus somniferus*, obviously a wild variety: *illa soporiferum, . . . colligit agresti lene papaver humo.*[648] The cultivated poppies had white or dark flowers.[649] Among the wild poppies Pliny identifies also a horned poppy which has a little calyx curved like a horn,[650] and *tithymalion/mecon* or *paralion* with a leaf similar to that of flax, a white flower and a tiny pod the size of a bean.

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[641] *RIC*, 1, no. 303, p. 63. I think it refers to the Alexandrian procession of Demeter's sacred basket drawn by four white horses and followed by women as described by Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Demeter* (1–5).

[642] Altmann, no.42

[643] Strong (1961) no. 57 (Comparanda 45-C; see also 43-C, *ossuarium* from the town of the Platorii.)

[644] Ibid., no. 53.

[645] Pliny *NH* 20.76.199 says that "the poppy juice ..is not only soporific, but if too large a dose be swallowed the sleep even ends in death," and talks about the father of Publius Licinius Caecina who committed suicide by using this drug.

[646] *G.* 1.78, ". . . *Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno.*"

[647] *NH* 22.76.202.

The fourth-century BC painting in the tomb at Bolschaja Blisnitza shows the bust of Demeter wearing a wreath made of such horned poppy flowers, lilies, and flowers of the cultivated poppy.[651] Demeter of the Apulian vase painters is frequently shown with a flower, which is probably a poppy flower, in hand. An Apulian calyx crater of 340 BC (in the context of the liberation of Prometheus by Heracles) shows Persephone with the cross-torch and Demeter seated, diademed, flower in hand.[652] Rosettes, the stylized poppy flowers[653] in the form of earrings, adorned Persephone on the Locrian votive tablets (Comparanda 12-C) and the bust of Arician Ceres (cat. no. 2-fig.). On a decorated diadem of the enthroned Arician Ceres (cat. no. 1) two grain-ears grew out of a single rosette. They are also represented on the *cistae* of the Caryatids of the Lesser Propylaea (Comparanda 25-C). In only one case do the poppy pods form a wreath, probably of Persephone/Proserpina or Demeter, on the coin of M. Plaetorius Cestianus dated to 69 BC[654] with the female bust crowned with poppy heads and a jug and a torch on the obverse, a clear allusion to the mysteries.

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[648] *Fast.* 4.531ff.

[649] Pliny *NH* 22.76.198.

[650] *NH* 20.75.204.

[651] Blech (1982) p. 255, fig. 34, where, however the *tithymalion/ paralion* has not been identified.

[652] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 472, p. 883. There is another "liberation of Prometheus" in the presence of Demeter, on an Etruscan amphora from Florence, *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 471, p. 883.

[653] I am accepting here the theory of Grossman that the poppy flower became stylized into a rosette, Grossman (1959) p. 28.

Poppy Pods Combined with Grain-Ears

Two of the earliest surviving representations of Demeter (wearing a polos) holding a bunch of poppy pods and grain-ears together in one hand and a flaming torch in the other occurs on a fifth-century BC Corinthian vase in Athens,[655] and also on a coin of Pyrrhus from Epirus (319-272 BC).[656] Both Callimachus[657] and Theocritus[658] describe Demeter holding poppies and grain-stalks. Two poppy heads at the base of the torch and two ears of grain by its flame at the top are represented on the second century BC altar in Pergamon.[659] In Roman art the composite bunch does not appear in the iconography before the Principate. Examples include an architectural terracotta (cat. no. 29-fig.), the archaizing relief from a rectangular base at Corinth (cat. no. 37-fig.), an *aureus* of Nero (cat. no. 45-fig.), and the Campanian Mystery relief (cat. no. 41-fig.). In the Roman (Republican) iconography of

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[654] *RRC*, no. 405/4a, pl. L.

[655] National Museum, inv. 5825 (*LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 121).

[656] Farnell, vol. 3, p. 218.

[657] *Cer.* 44.

[658] Theocritus 7.157. This third-century poet was from Syracuse but stayed in Alexandria at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphos.

[659] For the reference see p. 56, and Castriota (1995) pp. 40ff. (See Comparanda 32-C).

Demeter/Ceres poppy pods never appear with the ear of grains in the wreath. They do appear, however, in the imagery of Ceres of the Golden Age in the wreath of the seated goddess of the Ara Pacis (Comparanda 39-C), and among the representations of the imperial women as Demeter/Ceres.

Pomegranate

The *punica granatum* is a small tree or thorny shrub. It has large, red, solitary flowers, and glossy leaves. The fruit is filled with red/orange pulp and numerous seeds. Like the poppy, the pomegranate had been associated with fertility cults since Mycenaean times. In art it is the symbol of fertility on account of its many seeds, and seventh and sixth-century BC votive models of pomegranates, as well as poppy pods and pine cones, have been found in the Heraion at Samos.[660] Probably on account of its colour,[661] the author of the seventh-century *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*[662] places a pomegranate fruit in the hands of Hades as the food of the dead, which has the power to force Persephone to return to the Underworld. In another version,[663] with an Orphic twist, the fruit grew out of the blood of Dionysus/Zagreos. In either case it became associated with Persephone and through her, with her mother as well. In Greek art those two goddesses share many, and at times all, of their attributes. A taboo on eating the pomegranate at Eleusis is explained by the myth of Persephone eating the pomegranate seeds.[664] The votive plaques from Locrii Epizephyrii of ca. 460 BC(?)[665] show Persephone reaching for the pomegranates still attached to the branch. The pomegranate is an attribute held by the terracotta votive copy of a cult statue of Demeter, ca. 460 BC, from the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros on the Gaggera, near Selinus,[666] and also by the enthroned goddess, perhaps Demeter, from Grammichele.[667] An Archaic Laconian votive relief[668] shows Persephone (presumably) and the chthonic Dionysos seated, enthroned right. He is holding a cantharos, she a pomegranate. In front two small figures face the gods—one is offering a cock, the other a pomegranate. Pomegranates decorate the *cistae* carried by the Caryatids in the Eleusinian Lesser Propylaea (Comparanda 25-C). The pomegranate as a single fruit held in hand—as opposed to the pomegranate in a fruit swag which represents fertility, and may be a substitute for the golden apple of immortality as well—must have had strong chthonic significance because it disappears in Sicily and South Italy about the third-century BC and reappears after the collapse of the dream of the Golden Age, in a decidedly funeral context of ordinary mortals, on ash chests and grave altars of the late first and early second centuries AD with the *dextrarum iunctio* motif in which the man would hold a scroll and the woman a pomegranate or an apple.[669]

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[660] H. Kyrieleis, "Heraion at Samos," in *Greek Sanctuaries, New Approaches*, ed. by Nanno Marinatos and Robin Hagg (Routlege, London and New York, 1993) p. 138, fig. 7.7.

[661] Red has the symbolism of blood/life and was often used in funeral rites. See p. 192 for the Laconian dead wrapped in red cloth.

[662] *H. Cer.* 411.

[663] Clement of Alexandria (150-215 AD), *Protrepticus*.

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[664] *H. Cer.* 372 and 412. On the taboo see Porph. *Abst.* 4.16.

[665] Langlotz, pl. 71.

[666] Langlotz, p. 170, no. 68.

[667] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 149 (see Comparanda 1-C).

[668] Farnell, vol. 3, p. 225, pl. VII.

[669] G. Davies, "The handshake motif in classical funerary art," *AJA* 87 (1983) p. 633.

Golden Apple

Demeter was invoked as *Malophoros*, a title confirmed by Pausanias.[670] Most scholars suppose that it means *apple-bringer*.[671] Callimachus[672] prays to the goddess to feed cattle, bring forth *mala* (apples) and crops, the harvest and peace.
Because of its shape and colour the pomegranate may have been often confused with an apple, and may have been involved in various versions of the myth of the golden apple as well. The **quince** could also play the role of a golden apple.

Gold alone of all metals resists corruption, and therefore it came to symbolize immortality in much the same way as the colour red symbolized life, and in the chthonic world, probably also the afterlife existence. Hera, Demeter, Persephone and Dionysos/Zagreos all handle golden apples (or pomegranates or a golden bough) in various myths. Hesiod has the Hesperides, daughters of the Night, guard the golden apples in West, beyond the Ocean.[673] According to Ovid[674] Hera received the tree with golden apples which grew in the Garden of the Hesperides from Ge, as her wedding gift.[675] When Heracles, took three golden apples away during his Labours, they were returned to the Garden by Athena as too holy to remain among the mortals. Demeter visited the Garden of the Hesperides situated in the remote West, beyond the country where black people live, "where the golden apples grow" during her search for Persephone.[676] An unknown myth about a girl (Kore?) who marvelled at the apples of the Hesperides was briefly mentioned by Vergil.[677] Dionysos, child of Persephone and Zeus, was tricked by evil Titans with (among other objects) the golden apples of the Hesperides.[678] The apple from the Garden of the Hesperides definitely symbolized immortality.[679] Those who handle it become gods or go to Elysium. Dionysos/Zagreos was reborn to become a god, Heracles was subsumed to the heavens and became a divinity,[680] and Persephone returned to the world of the living and Olympus. The Garden of the Hesperides, Elysium and the Islands of the Blest, the remnant of the Golden Age Earth, were traditionally situated in the same area, the far West, beyond Oceanus.[681] The golden bough[682] in Vergil's *Aeneid* probably played the same role as a golden apple. Taken off an ancient *ilex*,[683] an evergreen kind of oak, the golden bough allowed Aeneas to enter the Underworld unharmed and pass, although living, into Hades and further to Elysium. The bough was left as a sacrifice at the doorstep of Persephone's palace and Aeneas returned to the world of living through a magic gate. Yet later, like Heracles, the Dioscouroi and other heroes who "conquered death," he became a hero if not a minor divinity.

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[670] Paus. 1.44.3.

[671] Farnell, vol. 3, p. 32, and the excavators of the Selinus temples. See especially White (1981) p.

[672] *Cer.* 137.

[673] Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 4.484.

[674] *Met.* 10.623-662.

[675] Scholiast on Hom. *Il.* I.609.

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[676] Callim. *Cer.* 10: "Lady, how could your feet carry you as far as the sun's setting, as far as the black men and where the golden apples grow?" (i.e., the garden of the Hesperides). There is no other reference to Demeter's visit to the Garden where the golden apples (possibly those of immortality) grew, except this passage. It may reflect a lost myth, (possibly influenced by Orphic beliefs, e.g. Orph. fr. 34.2) which, if known to us, could explain the connection between Demeter/Persephone and the attribute of an apple. Hopkinson in the commentary to Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter*, 25-30, notes (p. 91) that Callimachus is referring to the garden of the Hesperides, but stops at that. Demeter as well as the Orphic Persephone is closely connected with an idea of "acquired immortality" - be it that of a hero-turned-god (see below) or the "privileged afterlife" of the initiates.

[677] In *Ecl.* 6.61.

[678] Guthrie (1935) p. 123. According to Guthrie, the apples of the Hesperides were traditional symbols of immortality and in this particular myth they promise the rebirth of the Orphic Dionysos after his death at the hands of the Titans.

[679] Guthrie (1935) p. 123. Guthrie notices also that among the toys with which the Titans tricked Dionysus/Zagreos of the Orphic myth were "tops of different sorts, and jointed dolls and beautiful golden apples from the clear-voiced Hesperides."

[680] There are numerous representations of Heracles holding the apples of the Hesperides in his hand (*LIMC*, s.v. "Heracles," nos. 305, 374, 380, 392, 525 and 1168, to name just a few).

[681] See above, p. 78. It also is in the far West that Odysseus finds the country of the Cimmerians and the "entrance" to Hades (Hom. *Od.* Book 6).

Grape/Ivy/Vine

The grape/ivy/vine was associated with Dionysos (as Liber or as the Orphic Dionysos/Zagreos) with Demeter and Persephone.[684]

Acanthus, Vine and Poppy Flowers

Acanthus, vine and poppy flowers form a floral scroll out of which the head of Ceres is growing on an architectural terracotta in Copenhagen (cat. no. 28-fig.).[685] The ears of wheat on the decoration of the *cistae* carried by the Caryatids of the Lesser Propylaea also grow out of the acanthus leaf (Comparanda 25-C).

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[682] For a different explanation of the symbolism of the golden bough see *The New Golden Bough, a new abridgement of the classic work by Sir James George Fraser*, ed. T. H. Gaster (New York, 1968) pp. 590ff. and p. 605. Fraser suggests that the golden bough was mistletoe made pale from exposure to the sun. It is true that Vergil compares the golden bough, carried by Aeneas, to mistletoe, yet his description of the bough emphasizes its metallic character. The choice of words would fit a description of one of the artificial wreaths made of gold and gems, the gold olive sprigs or the gold grain ears, all found in Hellenistic tombs.

[683] *Aen.* 6.209.

[684] See above pp. 33ff. for the association of Dionysos with Ceres/Demeter.

[685] Dated to the reign of Augustus. See I. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blatterkelch*, Bibliotheca Helvetica romana 3, (Lausanne, 1961) p. 205.

Olive

Olive leaves, branches and sprigs often appear in fruit and leaf swags and garlands and form part of many composite wreathes of the imperial women assimilated to Demeter/Ceres. The olive is usually associated with Athena/Minerva and Pax. Olive garlands were painted in a Pompeian lararium in which Minerva was also worshipped.[686] On an early Augustan coin an olive branch has been placed in front of the bust of Pax.[687] I believe that the use of the olive in the imagery of Elysium/the Golden Age is associated with the Laconian and Pythagorean cult of the dead.[688] According to Plutarch[689] the Spartans buried their dead wrapped in purple cloth, on a bedding of olive leaves. According to Pliny[690] the Pythagoreans used not only the olive for this purpose, but myrtle and black poplar leaves as well. Callimachus described the olive as the plant used for the funeral wreath and as a coffin bedding for the dead.[691] The significance of the plant in the funeral context is clear: olive, an evergreen, symbolized the immortality of the soul or the ever-recurring cycle of life. The olive tree may have been yet another tree of immortality because, according to Pindar, it was brought by Heracles from the legendary country of Apollo's Hyperboreans[692] where he went seeking the Cerynean hind of the golden horns. This may be the subject of a scene on an Apulian amphora in Naples[693] on which Apollo is holding an olive branch as he stands by the side of the Eleusinian gods (Triptolemos in his chariot, Demeter with a sceptre, Persephone with a torch and Hermes with kerykeon). On the same vase a satyr kneels in front of an olive tree trunk (with leaves) handing a dish to Dionysos.

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[686] D. P. Harmon, "The Family Festivals in Rome, "ANRW II 16-2, p. 1581.

[687] *RIC* I, p. 59, no. 252.

[688] Blech (1982) p. 93.

[689] Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 18.238D; Plut. *Lyc.* 27.

[690] *NH* 25.46 (160).

[691] Callim. *Iamb.* 4; *Fr.* 194, 6ff. and 37-43, 49-54.

[692] Pind. *O.* 3.10.

The olive was also used as a purificatory plant associated with the Dioscouroi, the mythical initiates of Demeter who became gods. During the *lustrum* of equites on the 15th of July, associated with the cult of the Dioscouroi, the Roman knights wore olive wreaths.[694] The *lustratio* of the fields with *suovetaurilia* described by Cato,[695] was followed by the sacrifice to Ceres which also required that olive wreaths be worn, as Tibullus confirms.[696] In the *Aeneid*, after the pyre of Misenus was quenched with wine, Corynaeus, the priest purified Aeneas and the Trojans with an olive branch, dipped in water: *spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae/lustravitque viros*.[697] In Vergil's vision of Elysium, Numa, the king and law-giver, is olive-crowned,[698] doubtless on account of his Pythagoreanism, his heroic/immortal status and his peaceful nature.

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[693] Grossman (1984) FP 24, p. 291; No. 3245 in the Museo Nazionale in Naples.

[694] Scullard (1981) p. 164; Pliny *NH* 15.19.

[695] Cato *Agr.* 141.

[696] Tib. 2.1. As to the significance of an olive wreath in the context of *lustratio* I find some parallel in the parade of the olive-wreathed equites on the 15th of July, linked by Scullard with the census of the Equites. The census was always completed by a *lustratio*. For the parade of the Equites see Scullard, p. 164ff.

[697] Verg. *Aen.* 6.230.

[698] *Aen.* 6.808.

Laurel

Cato[699] advised growing three kinds of laurel for garlands: Delphian laurel, Cyprian laurel and a wild laurel, *loreus silvaticus*—probably a variety with small leaves. Vergil gives laurel, and hyacinth, to Apollo as gifts.[700] The laurel, Apollo's plant, was used in purification rituals to remove pollution, mostly concerning blood guilt. Orestes and Electra were often represented in vase painting carrying laurel branches tied with the beaded fillet.[701] Through its association with purifications and *castitas* the laurel, as well as the beaded fillet, became a plant of the Goddesses as well, although in a minor way. As early as in the fourth century BC, however, on a hydria from Capua,[702] Persephone is shown wearing a laurel wreath. The wild laurel is one of the components of the *bacchoi* represented on the *cistae* carried by the Caryatids on the Lesser Propylaea at Eleusis (Comparanda 25-C). In the second century AD much more laurel was to be included in the imagery of Demeter, especially in the Peloponnesus where the association between Demeter and Apollo was stronger.[703] In the Andanian Mysteries of Demeter, Kore, Hermes and Apollo *Karneios* in 91 BC the initiates wore laurel wreaths and the mysteries were held in Apollo's grove.[704]

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[699] *Agr.* 8.2.

[700] *Ecl.* 3.62-63, *Phoebo sua semper apud me munera sunt, lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus.*

[701] *LIMC*, s.v. "Electra," no. 39. The representation is on a vase dated to the mid-fourth century BC from Paestum.

[702] Bianchi, no. 6, p. 18; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 400, p. 877.

[703] The cult of Demeter differed in Sparta from practices elsewhere. See S. Walker, "Two Spartan Women and the Eleusinion," in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*. Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical *Colloquium* (London, 1989) p. 134. The relief of Claudia Agata, priestess of Demeter in Kalyvia, is surrounded (ed.) with bundles of laurel (p. 138).

[704] Farnell, vol. 3, p. 206.

By the house of Livia a laurel tree grew from which Augustus and the subsequent emperors took branches for triumphal wreaths.[705] Laurel trees were placed, according to Dio and Augustus himself (*Res Gestae*), beside the door of Augustus' residence on the Palatine.[706]

Myrtle

Myrtle, the symbol of both fertility and chastity, was closely associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter, during which the initiates carried the *bacchoi*—myrtle branches tied with wool as shown on the fourth century BC Ninion tablet (Comparanda 23-C). Myrtle is also represented on the *cistae* of the Caryatids of the mid-first century BC Lesser Propylaea (Comparanda 25-C) and on an architrave there, and also on the Lovatelli urn (cat, no. 42-fig.). Myrtle wreaths were also worn during the *Skira/ Skirophoria*,[707] the Athenian festival of Demeter. There is epigraphic evidence that the myrtle wreath was worn by the priestesses of Demeter.[708] Cato[709] mentions two kinds of myrtle used for garlands, white and black.

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[705] Pliny *NH* 15.136; Suet. *Galba* 1; Dio Cass. 48.52.3-4.

[706] Cf. A. Alföldi. *Die zwei Lorbeerbaume des Augustus* (Bonn, 1973); Gross (1986) p. 38.

[707] Blech (1982) p. 253.

[708] As confirmed by the inscription from the Agora in which Satyra, the priestess of the *Thesmophoroi*, was granted a wreath of myrtle for her services. See O. Broneer, "The Thesmophorion in Athens," *Hesperia* (1942) p. 265.

[709] *Agr.* 8.2.

Roses, Violets, Irises and Hyacinths

Roses, Violets, irises and hyacinths were the flowers which, according to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*[710] Persephone was picking when she was abducted by Hades. She was trapped by the god (and Earth) with a narcissus. In Ovid's version, dating to the first century BC, Persephone picks only violets or white lilies: *Proserpina luco/ ludit et aut violas aut candida lilia carpit.*[711] The abduction took place on a flowery meadow by the Pergus lake near Henna in Sicily.[712] Lilies appear as Demeter's secondary attribute in art: her sceptre is tipped with a lily in vase painting.[713] Lilies, poppy flowers and lily-like *smilax* (bindweed) crown the head of Demeter in the fourth- century tomb in Bolschaja Blisnitza.[714] Ceres of the Golden Age on the Ara Pacis, is surrounded with various flowers, including lilies and poppies (Comparanda 40-C). Painted rosettes and lilies decorated the ceiling of the ramp leading from the House of Augustus on the Palatine to the temple of Apollo Palatinus.[715] The flowers were placed in rectangular coffers with a central rosette or a central lily in each. The lily may have had some chthonic/immortality significance. It is lilies and poppy flowers Aeneas wants to give to Marcellus in Vergil's vision of the future great men of Rome:[716] *manibus date lilia plenis/ purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis/ his saltem*

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[710] *H. Cer.* 8-9.

[711] *Met.* 5.391-393.

[712] Cic. *Verr.* 4.107.

[713] *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," nos. 338, 340, 375, and 398.

[714] Blech (1984) p. 255.

[715] Ling (1991) p. 44 plate IVB.

[716] *Aen.* 6.884-85.

accumulem donis, et fungar inani/ munere.

Narcissus and Hyacinth

It is significant that by the late first century BC when Ovid retold the Rape of Persephone, the narcissus and hyacinth have disappeared from the story. That is probably because the whole myth had become more focused on the promise of immortality then on the symbolism of death. Both flowers are consistently excluded from the imagery of Elysium/the Golden Age; they are not among the flowers in the Garden Room of Livia (although irises are there), on the Ara Pacis or in the imagery of the funeral altars of the Julio-Claudian Age. This may be explained by the strong chthonic association of both flowers[717] which, unlike the poppy, pomegranate, ears of corn, or pines do not have any association with fertility and rebirth. The hyacinth is a flower shared by Demeter with Apollo. The celebrations of Demeter Chthonia in Hermione[718] were celebrated in hyacinth wreaths. Hyacinth of the myth had once been a boy of Amyklae in Sparta killed by Apollo accidentally.[719] In the second *Eclogue*, Vergil describes the wreath of Alexis, woven for him by Nymphs and Naiads. The choice of flowers, lilies, narcissus, hyacinth, with the addition of poppy heads and some cryptic remarks about death,[720] suggest that the author knows Alexis would die early. The narcissus was a flower produced by Earth to trap Persephone, so it was associated with her death, whether it was symbolic or not.[721] In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* Earth produced the narcissus as a flower-trap for Persephone. Once the girl reached for it, the Earth opened and Hades rushed out. In Sophocles[722] narcissi form the crown of the Great Goddesses, Demeter and Persephone. On Crete the narcissus was called *damatrion*.[723] On the Terranova sarcophagus dated to 145 AD, in the Borghese palace, Rome, which shows a scene of initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, Demeter/Ceres is holding a bunch of narcissi and a hyacinth in her right hand. This substitution of the flowers of the dead for the grain-ears which the goddess holds in similar representations under the Julio-Claudians[724] signifies a change in the perception of Demeter, who in the second century AD was no longer associated with the hope of the Golden Age. Both flowers appear in the art of the sarcophagi in the second century AD.

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[717] The natural explanation for the chthonic character of the narcissus and hyacinth could be the fact that both of them multiply through the division of their bulbs hidden in the earth, not by seeds.

[718] Paus. 2.35.4-9 and Plut. *Pomp.* 24. There was a reputed descent into Hades at Hermione which did not require the passage money for Charon. Through this chasm Hades was believed to have descended into his kingdom carrying off Persephone. It was from Hermione, as Pausanias believed, that the cult of the Chthonic Demeter and the rulers of Hades reached Sparta and then, through the Spartan colonies, South Italy.

[719] Ov. *Met.* 10.162ff.

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[720] In line 17-18 Corydon warns Alexis that he should not trust his "bloom" (color) too much (*o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori; alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur*) which may be interpreted as a prophecy of an untimely death. In line 39 Corydon talks about dying Damoetas, who gave him a Pan pipe of hemlock stalks as a parting present. The Nymphs and Naiads were believed to snatch the young to Hades. All the plants and fruit which figure in the second *Eclogue* are unrealistically combined--for instance quinces, chestnuts and plums with laurel and myrtle together (50-55). I believe they are components of a poetic counterpart of a flower-leaf-fruit swag, a symbol of the Islands of the Blessed and thus immortality (see pp. 77ff.).

[721] Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Ceres," p. 1067. See also Paus. 9.31.6.

[722] *OC* 682.

[723] Hesychius, s.v. "narcissus."

[724] See p. 56. See also cat. no. 39-fig.

Oak/Quercus

The *oak/quercus*, also *aesculus*, the winter or Italian oak in Vergil and Horace, or *ilex*, the holm-oak, which is also a poetic name for any oak, also belonged to Demeter/Ceres. The oak was usually associated with Zeus/Jupiter[725] yet Ovid in the myth of Erysichthon makes Demeter/Ceres a special protectress of an oak, *quercus*, growing in her sacred grove.[726] It is significant that yet again, as was the case of narcissi and hyacinths, the poet introduces changes to the Hellenistic original, Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, and replaces Callimachus' poplar tree[727] associated in the Pythagorean/Orphic tradition with the Underworld with the *quercus*, an acorn producing tree known from the myth of the Golden Age. Again the emphasis was on life not death. Pausanias speaks about the oak groves dedicated to Demeter in the Peloponnesus in Phigalia[728] and along the road from Tegea to Argos.[729] Wreaths of oak were worn at the festival of Ceres in May.[730] Oak wreaths were worn during the *Ambarvalia*[731] when the victim was led three times round the young crops and people wreathed in oak invited Ceres into their homes.[732] Some chthonic association lingered outside the connection with Demeter/Ceres: oak (its wood is called *robur*), pine (pinus) and cypress wood made a funeral pyre of Misenus in the *Aeneid*.[733] The *ilex*, however, was the tree on which the golden bough, a token of the immortality of Aeneas grew.

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[725] The wreaths of oak (*quercus*) were worn by the old king of Alba Longa in the *Aeneid* (6.772) probably because Zeus/Jupiter was the source of their royal power.

[726] *Met*. 8.755.

[727] See p. 200 below.

[728] Paus. 8.42.6.

[729] Paus. 8.54.5.

[730] Verg. *G*. 1.388.

[731] Verg. *G*. 1.345.

[732] Scullard (1981) p. 125.

The oak was painted as a central tree on one of the walls of the Garden Room. Its leaves, especially those of the *ilex*, appear in many swags and composite wreaths.[734] The ilex leaves probably had the same significance of immortality as did all other evergreens.

Acorns

Acorns, the fruit of the oak, were a symbol of fertility and were often represented in the fruit-nut-leaf swags and the composite wreaths (Comparanda 46-C).

Lygos Tree/Castus Agnus

The *lygos tree/castus agnus* was, according to Pliny[735] either a willow-like tree or a bush, with nice smelling foliage, and longish leaves shaped like those of a willow, pale green in colour and fuzzy (downy). The Athenian women strewed their beds with leaves of the *castus agnus* during the *Thesmophoria*, when sexual abstinence was required because the leaves of *castus agnus ad venerem impetus inhibent.*[736] Therefore the tree symbolized chastity (or even sterility).

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[733] Verg. *Aen.* 6.214-16, *pinguem taedis et robore secto/ ingentem struere pyram, cui frondibus atris/ intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos/ constituunt*, "A mighty pyre was raised, of pine and oak,/ The sides hung with dark leaves, and somber cypress/ Along the front" (trans. R. Humphries, New York, 1987).

[734] A. Alföldi discusses a composite wreath surrounding the horn of plenty on coins of Q. Fabius Maximus ("*Redeunt Saturnia Regna* II. An iconographical pattern heralding the return of the Golden Age in or around 139 BC," *Chiron* 3 (1973) p. 133, p. 6, 1-7). The wreath consisted of laurel leaves in the lower part, an oak leaf on each side and a grain-ear on both upper ends. Alföldi recognizes the laurel as the plant of Apollo, the oak as the plant of Jupiter, and the grain-ears as either symbols of the Golden Age or of the "spica," a star in the constellation Virgo.

[735] *NH* 24.38.59, *Non multum a salice vitilium usu distat vitex, foliorum quoque adspectu, nisi odore gratior esset. Graeci lygnon vocant, alias agnon, quoniam matronae Thesmophoriis Atheniensium castitatem custodientes his foliis cubitus sibi sternunt. duo genera eius: maior in arborem salicis modo adsurgit, minor ramosa, foliis candidoribus, lanuginosis. prima album florem mittit cum purpureo, quae et candida vocatur, nigra quae tantum purpureum. nascuntur in palustribus campis*. The leaves and seed of *castus agnus*

Palm Tree

The palm was dedicated to Apollo because Leto bore him under a palm tree on Delos.[737] It was also a symbol of Isis, identified with Demeter as early as the times of Herodotus.[738] Two swans with a leaf-flower-fruit swag in between and two palm trees bearing dates (on the corners) decorate the so-called altar of Leda at Arles, presumably a tomb,[739] and the Flavian funeral altar of Cornelia Gilyce in the Vatican.[740] Two palms and two cypress trees are represented on an Augustan relief with the sacrifice of a rooster to Persephone/Proserpina and Demeter/Ceres.[741] The background to the scene is a low Tuscanic temple,[742] most probably the temple of

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provided a remedy for the bite of serpents or spiders and protected against poisonous creatures in general.

[736] *NH* 24.38.62.

[737] *H. Ap.* 117.

[738] See p. 84 on garlands.

[739] Altmann, pp. 22 and 23, fig. nos. 16 and 17.

[740] Altman, p. 122, no. 130, fig. 98.

[741] I. Jucker, "Hahenopfer auf einem späthellenistisches Relief," *AA* (1980) p. 442ff.

[742] The temple corresponds to the Vitruvian description of the temple on the Aventine and has four columns in the wide porch, three on the visible side. There are no decorations or pedimental sculptures visible save a round disc with, what I believe is a Gorgon's head, in the

Ceres on the Aventine shown standing within a temenos surrounded by a wall. The grove, symbolically represented with two palms and two cypress trees, is situated within the temenos and to the left of the temple. The cypress is a tree of mourning which Pythagoras advised to use in funeral rites. The rooster as an offering to Persephone is shown on the Locrian *pinakes* of the early fifth century BC (Comparanda 11-C). The combined symbolism of these trees in the context of the sacrifice to Demeter/Ceres and Persephone/Proserpina points to the South Italian iconographic tradition—with traces of the neo-Pythagorean revival—and the association of Demeter/Isis with Apollo.

Cypress

The cypress was strongly associated with the afterlife but not always with death. The Orphic texts, preserved on the golden tablets,[743] speak of a white cypress growing by the right-hand side road (the road of the just) which led to Elysium. The tree stood by the spring which was not to be approached. The right-hand road was open to the initiates who were, according to the fourth century BC Orphic tablets from Thurii, "journeying the right hand road by the holy meadows and groves of Persephone . . . to the seats of the Hallowed" so that the dead can become "god instead of a mortal."[744] The persistence of Orphic/Pythagorean beliefs is confirmed by the long tradition of such tablets: from the fourth century BC tablets from Petelia

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middle of the pedimental triangle.

[743] The full text is best preserved on a tablet from Petelia, fourth or third century BC, now in the British Museum. See Guthrie (1935) p. 172.

[744] Ibid., p. 173.

to the second century AD tablet of Caecilia Secundina with the usual Orphic text, "she comes from the pure, pure Queen of those below," etc.[745] From the Orphic beliefs may have grown the custom of planting cypresses in graveyards. Horace calls the tree *invisus*, hated, because it follows one to the cemetery.[746] The Roman Republican Ceres *Spicifera*, through her association with Tellus but also with Proserpina, the queen of the Underworld, was strongly chthonic. Vergil talks[747] about a temple of Ceres outside the city gates, by the "funeral mound" and next to it a "cypress," venerated by the ancients: *est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum/ desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus/religione patrum multos servata per annos*. According to Iamblichus[748] the cypress was not used for coffins by the Pythagoreans, and the wood from that tree, along with myrtle, laurel, cedar and oak was prescribed as fit to be used in the rites of the gods.

Elm

The elm (*ulmus*) is the tree growing in the Underworld of Vergil,[749] and false dreams hide beneath its every leaf.

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[745] Ibid., p. 174.

[746] Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.21-24. In the *Epodes* (5.15-18) Horace speaks about "funeral" (*funebres*) cypresses.

[747] *Aen.* 2.713-715.

[748] Iambl. 153.

[749] *Aen.* 6.282.

Poplar

The poplar, the tree of Demeter in the story of Erysichthon presented by Callimachus[750] was also believed to grow in Hades and poplar leaf wreaths were worn in the rites of Dionysus.[751] Horace[752] speaks about *populea corona* worn by Teucer, flushed with wine (*Lyaeo*) when he was fleeing Salamis. Poplar was used for wreathes in the rites of Sabaius.[753]

Pine

The pine or fir (*pinus*)[754] is associated with Demeter through the fertility rites of the Greek *Thesmophoria* and especially the earlier festival of *Skirophoria/Skira* (held in June/July—the 12th of Scirophorion) during which pigs, pine branches and pine cones and cakes were thrown into underground chambers, or *megara*. During the October *Thesmophoria* the rotted remains were removed and placed on Demeter's altar. The retrieved remains were mixed with grain seed, "for they believe that one who takes these remains and mixes them with his seed will have a good harvest."[755] In Miletus the pine branches, with olive branches, not the *castus agnus* were put under beds at the time of the *Thesmophoria*.[756] The pine also has a place in the iconography of Dionysos in the pine cone at the top of thyrsus, and also for Cybele in that Attis died under the pine tree.

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[750] See above, p. 195.

[751] It was most probably the rites of the Orphic Dionysos. See Burkert (1987) p. 100.

[752] *Carm.* 1.7.21-29.

[753] Jashemski (1979-1993) v. I, p. 137.

[754] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "*pinus*." In Vergil, Horace and Ovid the word means often something made of a pine-wood, in Vergil especially it means a pine torch; in Ovid, a garland made of pine leaves.

[755] Scholion to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. Lucian wrote this work in 120 AD.

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[756] Steph. Byz. s.v. "Miletos."

APPENDIX TWO

HELLENISTIC ALTARS AND THE IMAGERY OF THE GOLDEN AGE/ELYSIUM

From the early or mid-second century BC a new design of fruit and leaf swags or garlands begin to appear on countless funeral and votive altars, most of them cylindrical in shape. This applies to altars on Rhodes, Cos, Delos, Cnidos, Paros, Athens and Boeotia. The earliest dated cylindrical altar, of Eumenes II of Pergamon,[757] has a garland with two ears of grain set among olive leaves, poppy flowers, pine cones, pomegranates, ivy leaves and laurel leaves with berries, but other examples offer numerous variations on the fruit and flower scheme. As Frazer[758] noticed, this characteristic decoration is restricted in Dorian areas to funeral altars only. The cylindrical votive altars of Rhodes, for instance, are all undecorated while the funeral altars from the island have decorations of fruit-and-leaf swags. The Dorian areas were known for the Orphic-and Pythagorean-based afterlife beliefs[759] and mysteries of the Chthonic Apollo and Chthonic Demeter.[760] It is possible that it was in the Dorian cult centres that the fruit-and-leaf swag first began to symbolize Elysium/Islands of the Blessed as the final resting place of the deceased (some of whom were certainly initiated). The plants and symbols of Demeter (and Apollo and Dionysos) form a large component of the funeral altar decoration. These are grain-ears, poppy flowers and rosettes (which are stylized poppy flowers), poppy pods, pomegranates and apples, as well as beaded fillets and snakes. The Delian and Coan altars have two large rosettes set in the garland just above the horns of the bucranium with a large ear of grain growing out from the swag from behind each rosette.[761] The Delian swag usually has also ears of grain within the garland itself, the garland consisting of pears, pomegranates, apples, ivy, acanthus and laurel leaves with a grape cluster at the lowest point of the swag.[762] Ears of grain are part of the garland on altars from Paros.[763] Rosettes replace the usual *paterae* as decoration on altars at Athens,[764] Thebes in Boeotia,[765] Corinth,[766] and Salamis on Cyprus.[767] The altar of Mitylene[768] has the rosettes supporting the garlands in place of bucrania. Even if a rosette may have become with time a less consciously applied symbol of Demeter, a beaded fillet was certainly less so because it formed part of the imagery of her Mysteries. The beaded fillet instead of the garland, suspended from the skeletal bucranium appears on the altars from Thebes in Boeotia,[769] Chaeronea[770] and Nisyros.[771] Fraser[772] notes that the "pearl fillet" (which I call the beaded fillet), is always combined with rosettes whenever it replaces the garland between bucrania. Snakes, creatures associated very often with Demeter/Ceres, especially Demeter *Mystica*, also appear as funeral altar decorations, for example on Nisyros[773] and on Cnidos.[774] Those particular examples are probably the clearest cases of the *numen mixtum* of Demeter/Ceres and Apollo, the gods of Elysium. To the same group may belong the funerary altars topped with omphaloid cones—in one case covered with beaded fillets—and snakes entwined round them, while the main body of the altar is usually decorated with the fruit garland.[775]

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[757] Votive altar (inscribed) from Pergamon, now in Berlin Museum. See Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 71a, p. 31.

[758] Ibid., p. 31 and no. 159. Elsewhere (Athens, Delos, Thera) the votive altars are decorated with garlands or snakes (see Comparanda 34-C-37-C).

[759] See Plutarch, *Lycurgus*.

[760] See p. 192 for the Andanian Mysteries of Apollo Kerneios and p. 34 for sites of worship of Chthonic Demeter.

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[761] Ibid., fig. 72d and 73d; Insc. Delos 1746 (Comparanda 35-Cff.). I have included some illustrations of other decorated cylindrical altars from Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, in the Plates without listing them in the Catalogue.

[762] As on fig. 74a, of Frazer, *Rhodian Monuments*.

[763] Ibid., fig. 74g and h.

[764] Ibid., fig. 75a.

[765] Ibid., no. 76b.

[766] Ibid., fig. 76c.

[767] Nicosia Museum; See Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 76d.

[768] Ibid., fig. 83a.

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[769] In the Thebes Museum; see Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, no. 76a.

[770] In the Chaeronea Museum (Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 76f.)

[771] Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 89b.

[772] Ibid. A very obvious beaded fillet which links skeletal (but complete) bucrania with rosettes decorates the upper moulding of large cylindrical altar (Fraser, fig. 64a). Another example of the motif of the same type (bucrania and rosettes with beaded fillets in between) is on altars on fig. 64c and on the rectangular altar in Nisyros, fig. 48a.

[773] Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 102b.

[774] In the British Museum (Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 103 and 104).

[775] Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*, fig. 110a and b; fig. 110c shows a reticulated omphaloid cone entwined by a snake.

APPENDIX THREE

CATALOGUE

I. THE REPUBLIC

Sculpture

1. *Ceres enthroned*
terracotta statue
loc: Rome, Nat. Museum 112.377
prov: Aricia
date: ca. 300 BC or the last two centuries of the Republic (Paribeni)
bibl: *LIMC*, s.v. Ceres 108; R. Paribeni, *Not.Sc.* (1930) 377, fig 8; A. Zevi-Gallina, *Roma medio-repubblicana* (1973) 326, no. 476, pl. 66.68-69
descr: Ceres enthroned, dressed in long chiton and himation. Head veiled and diademed. The diadem is decorated with a central rosette from which two ears of grain are growing. Other jewellery consists of earrings, a pearl bracelet on the elbow, a flat bracelet in a form of a snake on the wrist. The goddess is holding a bunch of grain, supported on the armrest of the throne. The armrest is decorated with a gorgoneion.

2. *Bust of Ceres*
(fig.) loc: Rome, Nat. Mus. 112.375
prov: Aricia
date: 300 BC or mid-second century BC (Zevi-Gallina)
bibl: *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 23; Paribeni (1930) 375-374, pl. 16; M. Borda, "Flava Ceres," in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, vol. 1 (St. Louis 1951) pp. 765-770, pl. 98a.b; Zevi-Gallina (1973) 321-324, np. 473, pl. 62-64
descr: hairdress of the nodus type (nodus not visible on the photograph), with hair gathered at the back. Two wavy strands of hair fall down to the shoulder (one strand towards the back, one to the front). Wreath of thick grain-ears preserved on the r. side of the head above the ear. Torques ending with two snake-heads on the neck. Thin chiton slipping off the shoulder, large neck opening. Earrings with a single rosette and a double pendant.

3. *Bust of Ceres* (relief)
architectural terracotta (Campanian plaque)
loc: Museo delle Terme
date: Augustan
bibl: *LIMC*, s.v. Ceres/Demeter no. 8
descr: bust of Ceres in profile r., wearing chiton revealing her shoulder, hair

dressed in nodus with strands of hair falling on her shoulder. Bunch of ears of grain in l. hand.

4. Head of Ceres (colossal)
(fig.) terracotta
loc: Zurich, Univ I.388 (KH 1964/12)
prov: Rome
date: end of the second century BC
bibl: A. Hochuli-Gysel, "Der Cereskopf im Zurichen Kunsthaus," *AK* 17 (1974) pp. 109-114; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 24
descr: head of Ceres, crowned with ears-of-grain wreath. The wreath consists of three parallel, and partly overlapping, rows of thick ears of grain which meet r. above the partition in the hair. The grains in each ear are distinct and plastic. Hair gathered at the back.

Seals

5. *Bust of Ceres*
(fig.) loc: Munich, Munzslg.A.1826
date: end of the second or beginning of the first century BC
bibl: M. L. Vollenweider, *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* (1972) 37. Cat. 23, no. 10, pl. 28; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 29
descr: nude (descr. in *LIMC* gives a draped bust, but I cannot see any drapery) bust of Ceres facing crowned with 6 large grain-ears set upright in an open-work diadem which is also adorned with a long, very distinct beaded fillet (not noticed in *LIMC*). Upper parts of two flaming torches (the Greek kind) decorated with crossed bacchoi (compare the Ninion tablet) are shown on l. and r. of the bust.

Coins

6. *Triens*, AE
mint: Capua
date: 268-218 BC
bibl: A. Sambon, "Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie." 103, p. 397 no. 1027 with drawing; *LIMC*, s.v. Ceres no. 11
obv: head of Ceres r., crowned with ears of grain.

7. *Semis*, Romano-Campanian, AE
mint: Sicily (?) - overstrike
date: 211-209 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 82/1, pl. 15

obv: head of Ceres, large, r., wearing a large wreath of ears of wheat and stalks of grain, inverted upwards and downwards - "the Sicilian type".

rev: Hercules fighting stag. behind, club; below, ROMA.

8. *Sextans*
mint: Luceria
date: 211-208 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 97, no. 9, sextans. See also no. 97, no. 23, pl. 18
obv: head of Ceres, wreathed with grain ears, r.

rev: Victory in quadriga r. holding reins in r. hand and staff in l. hand; above, l; below ROMA; in ex. Soooo.

9. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
L. Cassius Caeicianus
date: 102 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 321, pl. 42

obv: draped bust of Ceres l. wreathed. The wreath is of 4 long ears of grain attached to the base (a long stem of the first grain above the brow); the grain ear above the brow is almost horizontal, the remaining ears protrude upwards in gradually increasing angles. The grain ear is of the two row variety, with division between the rows deeply marked. No blades. Hair is short, rolled up along the line of the wreath. Ears exposed. A single long lock of hair falls down in front.

rev: yoke of oxen (two) walking l.

10. *Triens*, AE
(fig.) mint: Rome
Q. Titius
date: 90 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, 341.6 pl. 44

obv: mask of a bearded Silenus r., wearing ivy wreath; behind (vertically) 0000.

rev: Ceres walking r., hair in nodus hairdress, wreathed, dressed in peplos with overfold, holding (slightly inclined downwards) a torch in each hand; before, pig; behind, Q.TITI or ITIT. downwards. Laurel-wreath border.

11. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
C. Vibius C.F. Pansa
date: 90 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 342.3a (and 3b; rev: with border of dots) pl. 44

obv: laureate head of Apollo r., behind, PANSA downwards; before, control mark

rev: Ceres walking r., holding torch in each hand; before, pig, behind, C. VIBIVS. C.F. downwards. Laurel wreath border

12. *Denarius*
(fig.) date: 86 BC
mint: Rome
M. Fannius L. Critonius Aed.
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 351.1, pl. 46

obv: bust of Ceres r. wearing the long eared wreath of grain-ears. Wreath: two grain ears arranged one above the other above the brow, two at the rear (the "Sicilian type"). Three irregularly placed narrow stalk blades. A bun of hair at the nape. A long curled lock falls down from behind the ear. Earrings: two oblong pendants. A similar strand of hair is worn by Pietas on 347.81bc, and Apollo, 385.3 and 5.

rev: two male figures seated on a bench (subsellium) side by side; on l. P.A; on r. grain-ear; in ex. M. FAN. L. CRT.

13. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
date: 81 BC
C. Marius Capito
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 378.1, pl. 48; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no.15

obv: Bust of Ceres draped r. wearing a wreath of ears of grain. Wreath of two layers of ears curving upwards. Two ears protruding in front above the brow. Hair pulled towards the back, forms a roll at the nape of the head. Single, long strand of hair hanging down at the back. Earrings of triple round elements.

around: C.MARI.C.F.CAPIT and control numeral.
Border of dots.
rev: Ploughman with yoke of oxen l.
above: control numeral.
Border of dots.

14. *Denarius*
(fig.) M. Volteius M.F
mint: Rome
date: 78 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, 385.3, pl. 49.
obv: head of Liber wearing ivy-wreath

rev: Ceres in biga of snakes holding two flaming torches upwards. Long chiton, short hair (probably the nodus type).

In ex. M.VOLTEI.M.F.
(68 rev: dies - large issue).

15. *Denarius*
M. Plaetorius Cestianus
mint: Rome
date: 69 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, vol. 1 no. 405.3a, and 3b, p. 415 ; also 4a and 5

No. 3a; obv: Female bust r., draped and with hair decorated with poppy heads. Border of dots.

rev: winged caduceus; on l., M. PLAETORI downwards; on r., CEST . S.C. downwards

No. 4a; obv: similar.

rev: jug and torch; on l., M. PLAETORI downwards; on r., CEST. S.C downwards.

16. *Denarius*
mint: Rome
date: 67 BC
M. Plaetorius M.F. Cestianus
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, 409.1 pl. 50

obv: bust right, draped and with attributes of Isis, Minerva, Apollo, Diana and Victory (hair like Apollo, diadem, ureus ?, bow and arrows wings ?); before, cornucopia; behind, CESTIANUS downwards; before, S.C downwards. Bead and reel border.

rev: eagle on thunderbolt
M. PLAETORIVS. M. F. AED. CVR

17. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
L. Furius Brocchus
date: 63 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no, 414.1, pl. 51; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres, no. 16

obv: Head of Ceres r., wearing a wreath of three distinct grain ears turned upwards, attached by short stems to the base of the wreath. Hair gathered at the back, no nodus. Single long strand of hair at the back), r.; on l. grain-ear; on r., barley grain; on either side III VIR; below, BROCCHI.

rev: Curule chair; on either side, fasces; above, L.FVRI CN.F.

18. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
C. Memmius C.F
date: 56 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 427.1, pl. 51

obv: head of Ceres r., hair tied in an "irregular nodus" at the back (the same type of hairdress is worn by Venus type 426/3; two medium length single curls reach half way to the shoulders). The wreath has long, parallel two straight ears in front; above the brow, the back is plain wreath binding. She may have a beaded fillet below the hairline above the brow; earrings/

before: C.MEMMI.C.F. downwards.

rev: Trophy; before, kneeling captive with hands tied behind back; on r., C.MEMMIVS downwards; on l., IMPERATOR downwards.

19. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
C. Memmius
date: 56 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 427.2, pl. 49
obv: laureate head of Quirinus r., behind, QUIRINVS downwards.
before: C. MEMMI.C.F downwards. Border of dots.

rev: Ceres seated r., long hair with the wreath, holding torch at an angle in front of herself in l. hand and very long grain-ears in r. hand; before, snake; Torch is of Alexandrian style, medium length.

around: MEMMIVS. AED . CERIALIA . PREIMVS . FECIT. Border of dots.

(must have been popular in this combination: 43 reverse dies and 39 obverse dies).

20. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
C. Vibius Pansa
date: 48 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 449.2, pl. 53
obv: head of Liber.

rev: Ceres walking r., dressed in long chiton (or peplos with an overfold), two grain-ears in wreath, holding torch in each hand; plough in front.

21. *Denarius*
(fig.) mint: uncertain
Julius Caesar
date: 46 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 467, pl. 1.55

obv: head of Ceres with a wreath/diadem: only two ears of grain (Isiac wreath?) are attached in front of the fillet (or another type of wreath binding). Head is rounded, hairdress with a distinct nodus at the nape of the head. A fillet is dangling from the nodus (possibly a beaded fillet). A long, lightly twisted lock is falling down on her shoulder COS.TERT downwards.

before: DICT. ITER upwards.

rev: Culullus, aspergillum, jug and lituus; above, AVGVR; below, PONT.MAX; on r., D.

22. *Denarius*
Africa
Q. Cornificius Augur Imp.
date: 42 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 509.5 (Tanit), pl. 61

obv: head of Ceres l. wearing a wreath of straight, flat grain ears: the ears point forward and protrude slightly above the brow. Nodus hairdress and earrings single, oblong drop-type.

rev: Q. Cornificius crowned by Juno Sospita.

23. *Aureus*
(fig.) mint: Rome
L. Livineius Regulus IIIvir A.P.F
P.Clodius M.F. IIIvir A.P.F
L. Mussidius Longus
C.V (e)ibius V (a)arus
date: 42 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, no. 494a, no. 44, pl. 60

obv: Head of Ceres r. Hair plain on top, tied with the wreath; long and thick wavy hair (shoulder length) fall from under the wreath. The wreath is of the "Sicilian type" with three ears (husks ?) curved up. Thick grain ears above the brow.

rev: wreath of grain - ears tied at the top.

inside: L. MVSSIDIVS LONGVS.

24. *Aureus*
(fig.) mint: Rome
date: 42 BC
bibl: Crawford, *RRC*, 494.46, pl. 60 (LX)

obv: head of Ceres, long hair, (as the type 494a) but wearing diadem.

rev: wreath of grain ears. wreath of grain ears continuous.

also L.MVSSIDI. LONGI.

This was a series of aurei (494. 44a -44b, 45 and 46, all by Mussidius Longus (otherwise unknown). Crawford believes that they were striking "types commemorating the establishment of the Triumvirate and types appropriate to the individual triumvirs," *RRC*, p. 510.

II. THE PRINCIPATE

Type of *Spicifera*

25. *Bust of Ceres*
(fig.) sardonyx cameo
loc: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles

bibl: E. Babelon, *Camées BN* (1897) 61, no. 120, pl. 12; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 2, pl. p. 599

descr: Bust of Ceres r., wreathed and veiled. Wreath of a single grain ear with narrow leaf blades forming the rest of the wreath.

26. *Terracotta lamp* (fragment)
loc: Brugg, Vindoniss-Mus.33.1419
prov: Vindonissa
bibl: A. Leibundgut, *Die römische Lampen in der Schweiz* (1977) 135, no. 20, pl. 24
descr: head of Ceres crowned with grain-ears, r.

27. *Marble three-headed herm*
loc: Berlin, private collection,
prov: Fiesole
date: first (second ?) half first century AD
bibl: R. Lullies, *AA* (1933) 454, fig. 1-4
descr: draped bust of Ceres; on other sides Liber/Bacchus and Hercules.

28. *Architectural terracotta*
(fig.) loc: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1716
date: Augustan rule (31 BC-14 AD)

bibl: Spaeth (1994) p. 87, fig. 13. P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988) p. 185, derives this type of repr. of the divinity growing out of earth or scroll from Apulian painting (I believe Gnathian as well) H. Jucker, "Das Bildnis im Blatterkelch," *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana* 3 (Lausanne, 1961) p. 205, believes that some heads/busts may be Demeter's

descr: head of Ceres, wearing *calathos* grows out of the floral scroll.

hairdress: hair with a partition in the middle, gathered behind the ears, long thick strands of hair fall on shoulders) Calathos: low, with beaded fillet dangling from the top of it on both sides. The scroll is acanthus (stem), vine, poppy flowers (small and large).

29. *Architectural terracotta*
(fig.) loc: Copenhagen, Glypt. 1076
prov: purchased in Rome, probably from Tarquinia
date: first century AD

bibl: C. Caprino, *Not.Sc.* 1943, 28-29 fig. 1; Jucker (1961) 205, fig. 130; V. Poulsen, *Catalogue des terres quites grecques et romaines* (1949) 45, no. 94, pl. 50; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 5 (the same type also: no. 6 in Paris, Louvre Cp. 4906, and no. 7 and 9)

descr: bust of Ceres facing, with bent arms and rised arms around which snakes are twined. Bunch of poppies and ears of grain in hands.

30. *Architectural terracotta*
loc: Rome, Nat. Museum
bibl: *LIMC*, s.v. Ceres/Demeter no. 8; Rohden/Winnefeld 5 fig. 5
descr: Bust of Ceres in profile r., wearing chiton revealing her shoulder, hair

dressed in nodus with strands of hair falling on her shoulder. Bunch of ears of grain in l. hand.

Wall paintings

31. *Wall painting*

prov: Pompeii, Casa del Fornaio IX 3, 19, triclinium, west wall

date: late Third Style (ca. 25 AD-45 AD) Schwartz gives "before 79 AD"

bibl: K. Schefold, *Die Wande Pompejis* (1957), 251; S. Reinach, *Repertoire des Peintures Grecques et Romaines* (1922) 50, 4; Schwartz (1987) p. 69, no. W1

descr: Ceres, dressed in long chiton, holding sceptre in l. hand. Behind her Proserpina standing. Triptolemos with raised r. hand is standing in a snake-chariot. Tellus seated below, with two children.

32. *Wall painting*

prov: Casa di Trittolemo VII 7, 5

date: before 79 AD

bibl: Schefold (1957) 193; Schwartz (1987) p. 69, no. W2 (with comment: "damaged"); *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 69

descr: Ceres sends Triptolemos on his mission,

33. *Wall painting*

prov: Pompeii, House of Meleager VI 9, 2

date: between the rule of Nero and Vespasian

bibl: Reinach (1922) no. 5; G. K. Boyce, "Corpus of Lararia of Pompeii," *MAAR* 14, 137, 110 no. 10; W. P. Schefold, 110; Schefold, Verg P, 166, pl. 169, 2; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 152

descr: Ceres seated on a hamper, dressed in a long chiton and himation (wrapped round the lower part of her body). Veiled, crowned with a high wreath of ears of grain (the type with ears attached by a stem to the base of the wreath). She is holding a fold of himation in her l. hand and receiving into it a container suspended on strings from Hermes who stands facing her. She has a torch-like sceptre (its upper part has two small acanthus bands, the "mouth" is open) in her r. hand. The attention of both gods is focused on the container.

34. *Wall painting*

(fig.) prov: Pompeii, Casa del Navaglio VI 10, 11 (now in National Museum, Naples No. 9457)

date: rule of Nero

bibl: Reinach (1922) no. 1; O. Elia, *Pitture murali e mosaici nel Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (1932) 94, no. 238; L. Richardson, *MAAR* 23 (1955) 118-120, pl. 17, 2; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 84

descr: Ceres seated on a throne, slightly l. Behind the throne there is a high rectangular pillar (or is it a part of the back support ?). The legs of the throne are decorated with three rings of vegetal (acanthus ?) volutes (similar to the type which decorate the torch). The goddess is dressed in a long chiton and himation draped low around her hips and her l. arm. She is holding a large flaming torch (the top is well above her head) in the ornamental style (two acanthus rings) in her r. hand, and a bunch of grain-ears in her l. Head wreathed with ears of grain. To the l., on ground a tall, open-work calathos, narrow at the bottom and broad at the top, filled with ears of grain.

35. *Wall painting*
Ceres standing
prov: Pompeii, House of Neptune VI 5, 3
date: Vespasianic
bibl: W. P. Schefold, 97; Helbig, *Wandegemälde* no. 177; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 39
descr: Ceres standing, crowned with ears of grain, holding in her r. hand the ears of grain, in the l. a torch.

36. *Wall painting*
(fig.) Ceres standing
prov: Pompeii, House of the Dioscouroi IV 9, 6 (now in Naples, National Museum 9454)
date: Neronian
bibl: Reinach (1922) no. 2; Elia (1932) 94, no. 236; Richardson (1955) 13; W. P. Schefold, 116; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 38
descr: Ceres standing facing the viewer. She is wearing a long chiton and transparent, short himation. Crown of grain ears (thick and bushy with ears of grain protruding on sides) on head. Nimbus surrounds her head. She is holding a flat basket filled with ears of grain in her bent l. hand (slightly above the waist level) forward, a long torch, (Alexandrian type-three volutes) reaching above her head in her r.

37. *Relief from a rectangular base*
(fig.) loc: Corinth Museum
prov: Corinth
date: first century AD
bibl: Nikos Papahadzis, *Ancient Corinth* (Athens, 1979) fig. 27
descr: archaizing relief of Demeter peplophoros (swallow's tails arrangement of the overfold), walking l., l. hand down along the body, r. extended, holding with two fingers two large poppy-heads and two ears of wheat. Head in profile, hair tied loosely at the back. Two long curly strands of hair fall down onto the breasts on both sides. Earrings with a single pendant. *Calathos* (the Isiac type: narrow at the bottom, widening towards the top) on head.

38. *Demeter and Ge* (inscribed)

prov: Sebasteion at Aphrodisias

date: Julio-Claudian

bibl: *LIMC*, s.v. Ge, no. 33, pl. 33, but Demeter is not recognized. She is called "a woman with her r. hand raised"

Tellus is shown as a half-nude reclining woman (leaning on her l. side and l. elbow), holding cornucopia. A child is crouching at her side and clinging to the mouth of the overspilling (with grapes, apples) cornucopia. Pomegranates, apples, pine cones (cedar cones?), and grapes spill from behind the head of Ge. An archaizing Demeter (or Livia?) wearing a *calathos* is standing above Ge, holding a high torch (only the top part is preserved) in her r. hand. She extends her l. hand toward the cornucopia and the child (possibly Plutos). Demeter is wearing a thin chiton with a girdle under the breasts, high above the waistline.

Mystic Ceres

39. *Terracotta relief*

(fig.) loc: Copenhagen, Glypt. 1480

prov: (probable) Palermo

date: Augustan, after the fifth or fourth-century BC original

bibl: Poulsen (1939) 15-16, no. 14, pl. 9; *LIMC*, s.v. Ceres/Demeter no. 48

descr: Ceres standing l., veiled, wearing long chiton with an overfold and himation (drawn over her head), holding a long, slender torch upright in her l. hand and two ears of grain in her r. The torch is the height of Ceres and has 5 horizontal bands/bounds/bindings (?) across (Alexandrian type, but the bands are not of the vegetal-acanthus character, they are like thick bands of wire or twigs across). Ceres is holding the grains above the cista, from which a snake is rising. The cista is broad at the bottom and narrows toward the top. The lid seems to be tall and conical in shape.

40. *Cameo*

glass paste

loc: Cologne Germ. Mus. 5538.

prov: unknown

date: second half of the first century BC (ca. 50 BC)

bibl: A. Krug, *Antike Gemmen in Röm-Germ. Mus. Koln.* (1981) 197, no. 123, tav. 84; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 35

descr: Demeter in profile in l., capite velato. Peplophoros, holding a vertical sceptre in her r. hand, stretches her l. hand with a bunch of wheat ears above cista around which a snake coils. Similar on relief from Copenhagen (no. 48 p. 897).

41. *Campanian terracotta relief*
(fig.) loc: Rome, National Museum, 4357-4358
prov: Rome, *Palatine*
date: before rule of Claudius
bibl: E. Caetani Lovatelli, *Bullettino Commissione Archeol. Comunale di Roma* 7 (1879) 15, pl. 4.1; G. E. Rizzo, *Röm. Mitteil.* 25 (1910) 106, 132-134, fig. 11, pl. 6; Rohden/Winnefeld 7. 261 pl. 45; Helbig (4) III no. 216 4e; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 147

descr: scene of initiation. Ceres seated on a h[illegible]er/cista holding a large, thick torch in her l. hand and (probably) one large poppy i[illegible]e r. hand, posed as if resting on an armrest (the type borrowed from the enthroned Ceres type ?). The goddess is shown in l. profile waist down (3/4) with upper part of the body facing and head in r. profile. Ceres is dressed in a long, wide-sleeved chiton (and possily a stola over it) and himation, with a grain-ear wreath of four grain ears (two damaged), meeting in front, protruding high above the partition of hair. She may be veiled (traces of drapery in a very low relief behind the back).

The torch is the plain Eleusinian hawthorn type, thick, with three plain bands across, not burning. A snake is twined round the hamper and rests its upper part of the body on Ceres' lap.

On l.: standing Proserpina, on r. Iacchos or a male initiate with bacchos. Bianchi believes this is Heracles leaning on his club.

42. *Marble cinerary urn , "Lovatelli urn"*
(fig.) loc: Rome, National Museum delle Terme 11.3.01
prov: Rome, near Porta Maggiore (burial ground of the freedmen of *Gens* Statilia)
date: early Imperial
material: Greek marble
bibl: E. Caetani Lovatelli, "Di un vaso cinerario con rappresentanze relative ai Misteri di Eleusi," *Bull. Comm. Archeol. Comunale di Roma* 7 (1879) pp. 5- 18, pl. I, II, III); Mylonas (1961) 205-208, fig. 83; Bianchi (1976) no. 50; Mobius (1964) 36-39; *Mus. Naz. Rom.* I, I, 244-248 no. 154 (F. Taglietti); *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no.145

descr: Seven figures in three groups, probably initiation of Heracles.

Ceres seated and draped as on the Campanian terracotta relief. Differences: Face turned more to l. (full profile), hairdress has hair gathered at the back and one thick strand falling down onto a l. shoulder. Headdress consists of three ears of grain upright (the style of Isis headdress-noticed by Bianchi and Mobius) and veil spread behind her back. The torch is of the same, plain "Eleusinian" type.

43. *Terranova Sarcophagus*
(fig.) marble, Asiatic sarcophagus
loc: Rome, Palazzo di Borghese
prov: Terranova, Frascati
date: 145 AD
bibl: G. E. Rizzo, *RM* 25 (1910) 89-167, pl. 2-4; G. Schneider-Herrmann, *AK* 13

(1970) 65, pl. 31, 3; Wiegartz, Kl Saulensark. 58-61. 168; G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (1928) 501, fig. 484

descr: Ceres in an initiation scene.

Ceres seated as on the Lovatelli urn, cista covered with fringed drapery. Difference: she is holding narcissi and a hyacinthus in her r. hand. The torch is flaming; it is a slender, medium length and plain type (its top is on level of face of the seated Ceres). On the l. Iacchos with a flaming torch is standing by a cylindrical altar with fruit on it, on the r. of Ceres a female figure (Proserpina) standing turned away from Ceres, holding her flaming torch down and touching a seated initiate (Heracles ?) with it.

Coins

44. *Dupondius*
(fig.) mint: Rome

date: Claudius, 41 AD

bibl: *RIC* I^2 127, 94 (fig. for no. 110, pl. 16)

obv: Claudius head, bare. TI CLAUDIUS CAESAR AVG PM TR P IMP.

rev: Ceres, veiled and draped, seated l. on ornamental throne, wearing long chiton and himation, holding 2 ears of grain in her r. hand, medium size Greek torch (4 bands across, narrower at the bottom) in her l., almost horizontally across her knees.

CERES AUGUSTA; S C in ex.

45. *Aureus*
(fig.) mint: Nero, 60/61 AD

bibl: *RIC* I^2 151, 23 pl.18; 152, 29

obv: Nero head, bare, r. NERO CAESAR AVG IMP

rev: Ceres, veiled and draped, standing l., holding two grain-ears (and a poppy - not mentioned in RIC) in her extended r. hand, vertical slender Alexandrian torch (as long as of the goddess is tall) in her l.

PONTIF MAX TR P VII COS III PP, EX - SC.

(Julius Caesar's issue of Ceres (aureus) also honoured him as Pontifex Maximus).

46. *Sestertius*
(fig.) mint: Rome

date: 62-68 AD Nero

bibl: *RIC* I^2, no. 98, p. 159, photo pl. 18

obv: Nero laureated, wearing aegis, r.; NERO CLAUDIUS CAESAR AVG GERM PM TR P IMP PP

rev: Ceres and Annona, facing. Ceres on the r., veiled wearing chiton and himation across the knees, seated l., holding grain-ears in her r. hand, medium Greek torch in her l. hand, her hand on stool, facing Annona, draped, standing r., r. hand resting on hip, l. hand holding cornucopia. Between them, modius on garlanded altar. behind, ship's stern; ANNONA AVGVSTI CERES

(rev of no. 138, same type, diff. obverse)

Large issue, repeated with various obverses also by the Lugdunum mint

Stucco

47. *Stucco relief*

loc: Rome Basilica near Porta Maggiore

date: I BC or 20-30 AD (Roger Ling dates the "basilica", probably a funerary monument, to Tiberian times, AD 20-30 (Ling, 1991, p. 63)

bibl: G. Bendinelli, "Il monumento sotterraneo di Porta maggiore in Rome," *MontAnt* 31 (1926) 601-856, pl. 43,1; S. Aurigemma, *La basilica sotterranea neopitagorica di Porta Maggiore in Roma* (1961) 25, fig. 38; Mielsch, "Römische Stuckreliefs," *RM* 21, Erg-H (1975) 120; E. Strong-N. Jolliffe, *JHS* 44, 124, 101

descr: Ceres standing in profile r., wearing a long chiton and himation, supporting herself with a sceptre in her l. hand. She is holding out a bunch of ears of grain to Triptolemos with plough standing on her r. A cista with a snake gliding out is standing at her feet.

48. *Stucco* (ceiling)

loc: Rome, Mus Naz. 1074

prov: Rome, Villa Farnesina

date: 50-100 AD

bibl: Helbig (4) III no. 2482 (Andrae, B.); *Mus. Naz. Rom.* II 1 (1982) 292 pl. 202; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres, no. 40

descr: double representation of Ceres standing as a caryatid of a colonnade of 2 buildings. Ceres dressed in chiton and himation. The figure on the l. is holding grain-ears in her l. hand; the figure on the r. is holding them in her r.

Ivory

49. *Ivory relief*

loc: Naples National Museum

prov: Pompeii

date: Imperial

bibl: *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 135; Sark. Rel. III 3, 453-454

descr: two panels representing the rape of Proserpina; on one Ceres is standing, with long chiton, advancing r., holding two torches in her hands. In front, Diana and Minerva.

On the other panel: Pluton and Proserpina in quadriga, with Mercury before them.

Lamps

50. *Terracotta lamp*
loc: Berlin
date: second half of first century AD
bibl: *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 82
descr: Ceres standing (in long chiton) in biga of snakes. Torch in l. hand.
same type: lamp in Tunis, Bardo Museum. From Hadrumentum (*LIMC*, no. 83)
date: first century AD
(Ceres in biga of snakes, two torches in hands)
Probably these lamps come from the sanctuary of Demeter.

51. *Terracotta lamp* (fragment)
loc: Cologne, Röm-Germ.Mus. 28.204
prov: Cologne
date: second half of the first century AD
bibl: F. Fremesdorf, *BonnJhb* 147 (1942) 242, pl. 27, 4; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres, no. 32
descr: head of Ceres crowned with grain-ears, r.

Cameos

52. *Cameo*
loc: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum
date: first century AD
bibl: P. Fossing, *Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos, Thorvaldsen Museum* (1929) no. 653 pl. 8; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres, no. 79
descr: Ceres standing, dressed in long chiton and holding two torches, in a biga of two gliding serpents.

III. REPRESENTATIONS OF JULIO-CLAUDIAN WOMEN AS DEMETER/CERES

LIVIA

Coins

53. *AE local coin*
mint: Panormos on Sicily
date: after 14 AD
bibl: *BMC Sicily*, 125 n. 43; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, n. 61 and 72, pl. 9.4–5; *RPC* 6242
obv: bare head of Tiberius; PANORMITANORUM
rev: head of Livia, veiled, wearing a wreath of grain-ears; AVGVS (ta)

54. *Dupondius, AE*
(fig.) mint: Italica, Hispania (Beatica)
date: Tiberian
bibl: *Corpus. Num. Rom.* VII, 23ff, no. 1174 and 1175; *RPC* 66; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 45
obv: head of Augustus wearing corona radiata l. a thunderbolt in front, star above; PERM AVG DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER
rev: IVLIA AVGVSTA MVN ITALIC
descr: Livia, veiled and wreathed with grain-ears is seated l. on an ornmental throne, holding grain-ears or patera in her r. hand, a sceptre in her l.

55. *Dupondius, AE*
mint: Hippo Diarryhytos, Zeugitana
date: rule of Tiberius
bibl: *CNR* 10 (1976) 198, no. 767; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 48; Mikocki (1988) no. 18
obv: head of Tiberius r.; TI CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI P AVGVSTVS
rev: Livia seated r. with patera in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. She is veiled and wreathed with grain-ears (acc. to Muller); HIPPONE LIBERA IVL AVG

56. *Dupondius, AE*
(fig.) mint: Rome
date: 41- ca. 50 AD (Claudius)
bibl: *RIC*, I, p. 128, no. 101
obv: Head of Augustus wearing corona radiata, l., S - C.; DIVVS AVGVSTVS
rev: Livia seated l., holding grain ears in her r. hand, long torch in her l. hand; DIVA AVGVSTA

57. *Dupondius, AE*
(fig.) mint: Emerita, Lusitania
date: Tiberian
bibl: *Corp. Num. Rom.* 8, 63ff., no. 46; *RPC* 39
obv. head of Livia; PERM AVGVSTI SALVS AVGVSTA
rev: Livia seated r. on an ornamental throne, holding two ears of grain in her r. hand, leaning on a sceptre held in her l. hand; C A E IVLIA AVGVSTA
The coin shown in *RPC* is worn in the middle and does not show grain ears

58. *As, AE*
(fig.) mint: Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna, Africa
date: 23 AD
bibl: *RPC* 769 (as Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna, Africa); *Corp. Num. Rom.* 10, 171, no. 716, 721 (as Thapsus, Byzacena); Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 44, pl. 5.10
obv: head of Tiberius, l.; TI CAE DIVI AVG (F AVG IMP VIII) COS IIII
rev: Livia veiled, seated r., holding two ears of grain in her r. hand, sceptre (vertical, she is leaning on it) in l.; PERMIS P DOLABELLAE PROCOS C P G CAS

59. *coin AE*
(fig.) mint: Thapsus, Byzacena
date: Tiberian
bibl: *RPC* 795; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 43, pl. 5 no. 9
obv: head of Tiberius l.; TI.CAE.DIVI.AVG.F.AVG.IMP.VII
rev: Livia seated r., holding two ears of grain in her l. hand over modius, leaning on sceptre held in her r. hand; CERERI AVGVSTAE THAMPSITANI

60. *semis*
(fig.) mint: Panormos, Sicily
date: Tiberian
bibl: *CNR* 8, 66, no. 52; *BMC Sicily*, 125 no. 47; *RPC* 645; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 44, pl. 1
obv: Livia, veiled, seated r. with ears of grain in her l. hand and patera (or grain-ears) in her r.; PANOR MITAN
rev: ram standing l.; CN DOM A LA

61. *coin of Pergamon (Mysia)*
date: ca. 19 AD
bibl: *BMC Mysia* 140, no. 250, pl. 28, no. 251
obv: showing wreathed heads of Augustus and Tiberius facing each other.
rev: Livia as Demeter, seated r., leaning on long sceptre held in r. hand, holding ears of grain in l. hand; ΜΕΝΟΓΕΝΕΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΕΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΕΝΩΝ

62. *coin of Sardes (Lydia)*
date: Tiberian
bibl: *BMC Lydia (Sardes)*, 250 ff., nos. 98-101, pl. 26, 4; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 3ff., pl. 5, 7
obv: Tiberius in toga standing l., personification of Sardes kneeling in front of himl; ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΟΝ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΝ
rev: Livia, diademed, possibly veiled, seated r., holding (leaning on) vertical sceptre, three ears of grain in l. hand; ΣΕΒΑΣΤΕ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΛΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΝΟΝ

63. *coin, AE*
(fig.) mint: Thessalonica
date: 14-22 AD (Tiberius and Livia)
bibl: *BMC Macedonia*, 177, no. 76; *LIMC*, sv. Demeter/Ceres no. 115, p. 857; *RPC* 1566; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 45, pl. 6,4
obv: head of Tiberius, r.; ΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ
rev: Livia as Demeter, wearing a long chiton and himation (or chiton and stola over it) in biga of snakes. She is holding two torches, each in one hand; ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ

64. *Coin, AE*
mint: Tralles, Lydia
date: ca. 2 BC
bibl: *BMC Lydia*, no. 115; *RPC* 2647; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 37ff., no. 40, pl. 5, 5-6
obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ head of Augustus r.
rev: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ Λ(Ε)ΙΒΙΑ
descr: Livia standing front wearing long chiton, himation, veiled, diademed (probably); l. hand holding two poppy heads and two grain-ears. Crescent moon to r. of Livia's head.

65. *Same type*
prov: Tralles (Caesarea), Lydia
coin of Gaius struck under Tiberius
bibl: *BMC Lydia* (1901) 344 ff., no. 117-120; *RPC* 2648
obv: head of Gaius r.; ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
rev: Livia as Demeter, standing, holding grain-ears and a poppy, in r. field crescent; ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΛΕΙΒΙΑ

Sculpture

66. *Head of Livia*
marble
prov: Paestum
date: 20s of first century BC
bibl: Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 102 n. 44; K. Fittschen, P. Zanker, *Capitolino* III (1983) 2 n 6g (to no. 1); H. Bartels, *Frauenporträt* (1963) 46, 55

descr: female head to be inserted in a statue, veiled, wreathed. Wreath of oak leaves, grain-ears (possibly) and flowers. Hairdress with the bun above the brow.

67. *Head of Livia*
(fig.) marble
size: 79, 5 cm.
loc: Capitoline Museum, Stanza degli Imperatori 9, inv. 144
prov: Rome (?)
date: late years of the reign of Tiberius/ early Claudian
bibl: Fittschen and Zanker (1983) no. 3, pl. 2, 3; Bartels (1963) p. 49

descr: head of Livia. Bust, part of diadem, nose are modern reconstruction. Hairdress with the middle partition and wavy crown of hair in front, tied in the knot at the back. The headdress consists of a high diadem adorned with a row of 9 or 10 small palmettes along the rim. The front of the diadem is composed of six parallel ears of grain and three poppy heads which grow out of the acanthus leaves.

68. *Head of Livia*
marble, poorly preserved
height: 41 cm
loc: Staatliche Museen, Berlin no. 435 (R 25)
date: Claudian (or acc. to Bartels, 30s of the first century AD)
bibl: Bartels (1963) 55ff; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) no. 4. n. 9 e (to go with no. 3)

descr: the head belonged to an over-lifesize statue. It is diademed and wreathed (wreath placed below the diadem). Most of the diadem is missing. The wreath consists of grain-ears, flowers and olive-leaves. Below, a fillet (?).

69. *Head of Livia*
marble
height: ca. 32 cm
loc: Sotheby Auction catalogue
prov: Sicily
date: beginning of the first century AD
bibl: Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4. no. 9g (to no. 3); also Poulsen (1973)

descr: head with very young, idealized features of Livia. Hairdress with the middle partition. Flowers and leaves of laurel in the wreath.

70. *Head of Livia*
marble
height: 31 cm
loc: private collection (Bonn), Germany
prov: unknown
date: soon after 14 AD
bibl: Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4-5 no. 9 (to no. 3); *Antiken aus Rhein. Privatbesitz, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn*, 1973 (Führer des Rh. Landesmuseums no. 48), 216, no. 357, pl. 162

descr: head, veiled and wreathed. The wreath consists of leaves, flowers and poppy heads. Beaded fillet under the veil. Hairdo with the middle partition.

71. *Head of Livia*
(fig.) marble, well preserved
height: 34 cm
loc: Hermitage A 116, Petersburg, Russia
prov: unknown
date: second quarter of the first century AD
bibl: Bartels (1963) 40, 48 no. 315; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4 n. 9 b (to no. 3)

descr: the head belonged to a statue, The hairdress with the middle partition and the "bun" above the nape of the neck. The wreath is large with flat, rectangular grain-ears (which meet above the partition) and fruits. Very distinct, large beaded fillet under the wreath.

72. *Head of Livia*
(fig.) marble, poorly preserved
height: 28 cm.
loc: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 618
prov: Italy, possibly Campania
date: after 14 AD
bibl: Poulsen (1973) 71, no. 36, pl. 57; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 121ff., pl. 29; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4. no. 9 d (to no. 3)

descr: head for statue. Type of Salus: hairdress with the middle partition and a knot (I think it is a thick braid) of hair above the nape of the neck. Wreath of grain-ears (plastic grains) and flower, also poppies. Below, beaded fillet (double string, on the l. side at the back ?).

73. *Marble statue, full figure*
(fig.) height: 1.99 m
loc: Louvre, Ma 1245
prov: unknown
date: Claudian copy of an early Augustan original
bibl: Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4 no. 9 (to go with no. 3); Poulsen (1973) 100, no. 44

descr: statue draped, over life-size. Head may not belong. The back of the head restored in concrete, the lower part of strands of hair added. Also nose has been restored. L. hand and r. forearm are modern. Hairdress with the middle partition and two thick, long strands of hair falling down onto the shoulders. Knot of hair low at the back. The wreath encircles the head and consists of grain ears and long laurel (?) leaves together, tied in two places: at the back and above the middle partition. Poulsen (p. 100) points to the Hellenistic hairdress of the head and supposes it was copied after the deification of Livia in 42 AD from an early Augustan original, created by a Greek artist living in Rome.

74. *Statue of Livia*
marble
height: 2.04 m. (head: 26 cm.)
loc: Lowther Castle (Michaelis 68)
date: Claudian
bibl: A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles* (1882) Lowther Castle, no. 68; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 121 no. 36; Bartels (1963) 60; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4 no. 9c (to no. 3)

descr: Livia standing with sceptre in hand. Statue after the fourth century Greek original (Artemisia type); l. hand and the r. arm restored. R. hand restored holding a vertical sceptre (possible). Head with the middle partition hairdress, back of the head veiled. High diadem, wreath below. Wreath heavily restored. Leaves of olive or oak and flowers (restored).

75. *Statue of Livia*
(fig.) marble (pentelic)
height: 3 m 10 cm (head: 70 cm)
loc: Archeological Museum in Tripolis Magna no. 26 (24)
prov: Leptis Magna, theatre shrine
date: 30s of the first century AD
bibl: G. Caputo and G. Traversari, *Le sculture del teatro di Leptis Magna* (1976) 76ff., no. 58, pl. 54 and 55; Bartels (1963) 55, 59; K. Polaschek, *Antonia* (1973) 23, no. 23; Werde (1981) 304, 305, no. 34; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4n.9 n (to no. 3)

descr: Standing statue of Livia as Ceres/Tyche, holding a cornucopia (lost) in her l. hand and some other attribute, now missing, in her r. The headdress consists of a *corona muralis* and a narrow wreath of grain-ears, poppies and leaves placed below the *corona*. Beaded fillet visible at the back.

76. *Statue of Livia* (seated, with cornucopia)
(fig.) marble
height: 1.25 cm
loc: Museo Archeologico, Madrid, 20.332
prov: Baene near Cordoba
bibl: Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 2, no. 61 (to no. 1); Garcia Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1949) no. 171

descr: seated Livia (young portrait type, with the lock above the brow), veiled with himation, holding a cornucopiae in her l. hand. R. hand missing. Cornucopia contains flowers, pomegranate, poppy heads, pine cones, grapes, ears of corn.

77. *Statue of Livia* (seated)
height 1.77 m.
loc: Madrid, National Archaeological Museum no. 2. 737
prov: Paestum
date: 20-29 AD
bibl: Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 3.4 no. 4, 45 n. 5; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 114ff, pl. 23.2 and 25; Polaschek (1973) 48ff.

descr: Livia is seated on a throne with a lion's paws legs. Both arms of an empress are missing. The head is veiled and was probably wreathed or diademed with the headdress attached.

78. *Statue of Livia as Fortuna or Tyche/Ceres*
(fig.) height: 2.53 m
loc: Paris, Louvre Ma 12 42
prov: Rome (probably)
date: Tiberian (14-22 AD)
bibl: K. de Kersauzon, *Portraits Louvre*, I (1986) no. 102ff., no. 45; Poulsen (1973) no. 34, p. 67; Poulsen (1973), no. 45, p. 102; Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (1977) p. 23, fig. 16; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 2 no. 6 f (to no. Livia Copenhagen typus NCG 615)

descr: Livia standing, draped (chiton with long sleeves and an overfold); Head is veiled with voluptous himation which drapes also the lower part of the body (in front) and hangs over the l. forearm. The hairstyle has nodus above the brow. The headdress consists of a high, deeply carved wreath of poppy flowers (partially restored) and a beaded fillet, visible under the veil. A bunch of grain-ears held in the r. hand and the hand itself are compeletely restored. Cornucopia filled with ears of grain ears, grapes and (possibly) pomegranates, held in the l. hand is restored in the upper part. The cornucopia is in low relief (with a central rosette and volutes), long and irregular in shape.

Cameos

79. *Cameo*
(fig.) Tiberius and Livia
onyx or chalcedony
size: 48 mm
loc: Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 177
prov: Rome
date: Tiberian (14-22/23 AD)
bibl: W.-R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus* (1987) 197 A 49, pl. 10, 10; Mobius (1964) 18, pl. II, 7; H. Mobius, "Zweck und Typen römischer

Kaizerkameen." *ANRW* 2.12.3 (1985) pp. 59 and 79; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III (1900) 318; Bartels (1963) 47 and 10, 10

descr: Two busts: of Tiberius (nude) and Livia (draped) r. Tiberius is wreathed in laurel with laurel berries. Livia diademed (low diadem). Behind diadem -wreath of poppies and ears of corn.

80. *Cameo*
(fig.) head of Livia
onyx, 45 mm
loc: Florence, Museo Archeologoco, no. 26
prov: Rome
date: ca. 20 AD
bibl: Megow (1987) 255 B 17, pl. 13, 9; J. J. Bernulli, *RI*, II.1 (1886) 95c, pl. XXVII, 6; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 172

descr: head of Livia, in l. profile, veiled and wreathed. Hairdress (probably) with the central partition. Wreath high above the brow; three ears of grain protrude above the head. Veil covers the back of the head. Wreath consists of three parallel layers of ears of grain, small poppy heads, two poppy flowers, two laurel leaves.

81. *Cameo* ?
sardonyx
dim: 1.3 x 0. 8 cm
loc: London, British Museum, no. 1976
prov: Rome ?
date: Tiberian ?
bibl: A. H. Smith, *Gems BM* (1888) no. 1572; H. B. Walters, *Gems BM* (1926) no. 1976; Fossing (1929) 269, reference G. Grether, "Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult." *AJPh* 67 (1946) 244

descr: veiled and wreathed bust of Livia r. Veil covers back of the head, wreath consists of ears of wheat or barley and poppy heads.

82. *Cameo*
glass cameo
dim: 2,2 x 1,7 cm
loc: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum no. 1975
date: early first century AD ?
bibl: Fossing (1929) 269, no. 1975, pl. XXIV
descr: Bust of draped Livia r., veiled, wreathed. Wreath consists of grain-ears.

83. *Cameo*
(fig.) sardonyx, damaged
loc: Rome, Capitoline Museum, no. 121
prov: Rome
date: first quarter of the 1st century AD (Tiberian ?)
bibl: Megow (1987) 255f, B, 18, pl. 13, 8; Mobius (1985) 59-60

descr: part of a cameo which originally represented two busts, draped, their heads facing each other, and shown in profile, bust of the l. figure in 3/4 facing the viewer, bust of the r. almost frontal. The l. bust missing. The r. one portrays Livia, draped, wearing long veil and a large, protruding wreath of plasticly represented grain ears, laurel leaves, large laurel berries (or tiny poppies) and large poppies.

84. *Grand Camée de France*
(fig.) sardonyx
dim: 31 x 25,5 cm
loc: Paris, B.N. Cabinet des Médailles, no. 264
prov: Rome
date: 17/19 or 25 AD or Claudian (51 AD acc to Megow)

bibl: Babelon (1897) 120-137 no. 264, pl. 28; Megow (1987) 202 n. A 85, pl. 32-10, 33; M.-L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Kunstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden Baden, 1966) 68, n. 2, 80, n. 85.177 pl. 73, 6

descr: Livia enthroned l., feet on a stool, dressed in chiton, stola, himation, wreathed in laurel, holding a bunch of 2 poppy heads and 2 ears of grain in hand. On her r. Tiberius as Jupiter. Augustus in corona radiata above.

85. *Cameo*
(fig.) sardonyx
dim: 9 mm
loc: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna IX a 95
prov: Rome ?
date: possibly soon after 14 AD (14-29 AD)

bibl: A. Furtwangler, *Antike Gemmen*, III (1900) 318; Bartels (1963) 49,n. 389; G. M. A. Richter, *Roman Gems* (1971) n. 486; Mobius (1985) 64; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 4-5, no, 9 (to Ceres-Typus, no. 3); Megow (1987) 254 B 15, pl. 9, 1-3; A. Small, "A new head of Antonia Minor and its significance," in *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts römische Abteilung*, 92 (1990) 229, n. 42

descr: Livia or Antonia Minor (acc to Small) (half-figure) seated, l., holding in her r. hand the bust of Augustus who is veiled and wreathed (oak leaves and corona radiata). Livia is dressed in chiton and stola, l. shoulder exposed. Her l. arm is resting on an armrest (of a throne) and a tympanon (lion on the tympanon is a modern addition) and holding poppy heads and grain-ears. Head: hairdress with the middle partition, *corona muralis*, back of the head veiled.

ANTONIA MINOR

Coins

86. *Bronze local coin*, worn
mint: Corinth
date: 37-38 AD
bibl: *RPC* 1176; W. Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda* (1978) 104, pl. 13.8
obv: two large cornucopiae M BELLIO PROCULO IIVIR.
rev: bust of Antonia r. ANTONIA AVGVST.

87. *Aureus and denarius*
mint: Rome,
date: 41-42 AD
bibl: *BMC* I, 180 no. 112, 114, pl. 33, 21-22; A. Rumpf, *Antonia Augusta* (1941) pl. 4c
obv: head of Antonia r. Wreath of grain-ears, hair in long plait behind; ANTONIA AVGVSTA
rev: one torch; SACERDOS DIVI AVGUSTI

88. *Aureus*
(fig.) mint: Rome
date: ca. 41-5 AD
bibl: *RIC* I, p. 124, no 67, pl. 15
obv: draped bust of Antonia r. wearing wreath of grain-ears, her hair in long plait behind; ANTONIA AVGVSTA
rev: two vertical long torches, lighted and tied by a beaded fillet; SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI

89. *Aureus, denarius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
date: AD 41-45
bibl: *RIC* I, 124, no. 65 (aureus), 66 (denarius, pl. 15)
obv: draped bust of Antonia r., wreath of grain-ears on head; ANTONIA AVGVSTA
rev: Antonia (?) facing, with a long torch of the Alexandrian type in her r. hand and a cornucopia in l. hand; CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI

90. *Lead tessera*
mint: Rome
dim: 18 mm
loc: Trau collection, Vienna
date: Claudian
bibl: M. Rostowtzew, *Tessarum Syllogae* (1903) 2, no. 10, pl. 1.17
obv: bust of Antonia r. wearing a wreath of grain-ears and laurel leaves; ANTONIA
rev: EX LIBERALITATE TI CLAUDI CAE AVG.

91. *Cameo* (damaged)
carnelian
dim: 18 mm
loc: British Museum, London no. 1977
prov: Rome
date: after 14 AD or 29-37 (E. Simon)
bibl: Walters (1926) n. 1977 (description, no fig.); Grether (1946) 244; Mikocki (1988) no. 147, p. 290 (with bibl.)
descr: Partially preserved representation of Antonia, with head in Pietas type in r. profile. She is looking at a bust of Augustus wearing corona radiata, placed on a globe which in turn is placed on a cornucopia, held by Antonia in her l. hand.

92. *Antonia (or Livia)*
amethyst intaglio
Rome (probably)
dim: 30 mm x 20 mm
loc: Cabinet des Médailles, Paris B.N. no. 2080
date: beginning of the 1st century AD
bibl: G. M. A. Richter, *Gems* II (1971) no. 509; M. L. Vollenweider, *Camées Genève*, II (1979) 201 n. 2; Erhart, *AJA* 82 (1978) 197, n. 18, 210 (group 1: youthful and idealized, no. 4); Vollenweider (1979) no. 36
descr: Female bust facing, head inclined l. The bust is draped (chiton) and veiled (veil pushed to the top of the head), wreathed with oak (probably) leaves. Necklace on the neck. R. hand is clasping a cornucopia filled with grapes, grain-ears, pomegranates (probably) and poppy heads.

93. *Statue of Antonia*
marble
height: 2.29
loc: Staatliche Museen, Berlin, no 587 (R.27)
prov: Faleri, Etruria
date: Claudian
bibl: Rumpf (1941) 22 no. 1, 24, 31ff., pl. 2a
descr: A standing colossal statue of a woman (type of the Ephesian Hera) dressed in stola and palla, holding a cornucopia in her l. hand and a sceptre

(reconstructed) in her r. hand. Coiffure: idealized with middle partition and long strands of hair coming down from behind ears. Diadem and beaded fillet underneath on head.

94. *Head of Antonia*
fragment of a miniature statuette
chalcedony
height: 28 mm
loc: private collection in Switzerland
date: Claudian rule
bibl: E. Simon, "Augustus und Antonia Minor in Kurashiki, Japan," *AA* (1982) 342, figs. 25-27; Megow (1987) 289, D 5, pl. 20, 4-6
descr: Veiled and diademed head of Antonia. Veil covers the back of her head, coiffure with middle partition, diadem decorated with a silhouette of the bust of Augustus r. and with stars.

AGRIPPINA MAJOR

Coins

95. *Coin* of Germanicus and Agrippina Major
prov: Mytilene on Lesbos
date: reign of Gaius
bibl: *BMC Lesbos*, 204 no. 194; *RPC* 2347; Trillmich (1978) 119ff., pl. 14, 2-3
obv: head of Germanicus r.; ΘΕΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΥΤΙ
rev: bust of Agrippina l.; ΘΕΑΝ ΑΙΟΛΙΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΝΑΝ ΜΥΤΙ

96. *Coin* of Gaius
(fig.) prov: Philadelphiae (Neocaesarea), Lydia
date: reign of Gaius
bibl: *BMC Lydia*, 195, no. 55; *RPC* 3032; Trillmich (1978) 131, pl. 14, 15; *Syll. Kopenhagen*, Lydia, no. 372
obv: head of Gaius in wreath r.; ΓΑΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟC ΝΕΟΚΑΙΑΡΕΩΝ
rev: Agrippina as Demeter or Eubosia enthroned r., holding cornucopia in her l. hand, a sceptre in her r. She wears a diadem or a wreath on her head; ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥC

97. *Coin* of Gaius
(fig.) prov: Magnesia ad Sipylum, Lydia
bibl: *BMC Lydia*, 145, no. 49-51; *RPC* 2454; Trillmich (1978) 126ff., pl. 14.10-11
obv: radiate head of Gaius r.; ΓΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡΑ CΕΒΑCΤΟΝ
rev: Germanicus stands facing wearing a toga *capite velato* and holding a patera in his hand; behind him stands Agrippina as Demeter, in a long chiton, holding a sceptre in her l. hand and ears of grain in her r. hand; GΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ; in field ΜΑ ΑΠΟCΙΠ(Υ)

Cameos

98. *Sardonyx cameo*
(fig.) dim: 51 x 42 mm
loc: Cabinet des Médailles BN, Paris no. 122
prov: Rome ?
date: Claudian ?
bibl: Babelon (1897) no. 122 pl. XIV; Richter (1971) no. 134
descr: Two female busts together facing l. Idealized coiffures and facial features. The bust nearer to the viewer is veiled and wreathed with leaves (laurel or olive?) and ears of grain. The bust behind it is wearing a low diadem. The cameo may (very tentatively) represent Agrippina Major as Demeter and Agrippina Minor as Persephone.

DRUSILLA

99. *Coin of Gaius*
(fig.) prov: Smyrna, Ionia
date: 37/38 AD
bibl: *BMC Ionia*, 269, no. 272 - 276, pl. XXVII, 9; *RPC* 2472; Trillmich (1978) 123, pl. 14, 6; Wood (1995) p. 462, fig. 3; Mikocki (1988) no. 207 (there is a general belief that Drusilla is shown here as Persephone - it is possible in the context of her early death)
obv: wreathed head of Gaius r.; ΓΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΟΥΙΟΛΑ
rev: wreathed (probably) Drusilla is seated l., holding a poppy and two grain-ears in her r. hand, a sceptre in her l. ΔΡΟΥCΙΛΛΑΝ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΗΝΟΘΑΝΗΣ

100. *Cameo*
(fig.) prov: Rome or Alexandria
date: reign of Gaius
bibl: Megow (1987) no. 7, pl. 16, C 13
descr: two busts facing, on the l. Drusilla, on the r. Drusus. Drusilla is in Isiac

dress r., wearing a diadem with a composite wreath above. The wreath consists of two grain-ears at the top and two at the bottom, two poppies, acorns, three pomegranates, and one laurel/olive leaf. Drusus is bearded and wears a crown of oak leaves with fruit, horns of Zeus Ammon and an aegis.

LIVILLA or JULIA AUGUSTI

101. *Cameo*
(fig.) sardonyx (l. side restored in the 16th century)
dim: 55 mm x 44 mm
loc: Cabinet des Médailles Bibliothèque Nat. Paris no. 244
date: 12-2 BC
bibl: Fossing (1929) 269; Megow (1987) 296 n. D 25, pl. 12, 3

descr: female bust in r. profile, head slightly inclining towards the l. hand in which she is holding a fold of her garment. Wreath of grain-ears and poppy heads. Coiffure with a nodus above the forehead (early Livia coiffure, yet not her features).

102. *Cameo*
(fig.) sardonyx
dim: 44 mm x 46 mm
loc: Cabinet des Médailles, Paris no. 242
prov: Rome (probably)
date: ca. 20 AD
bibl: Megow (1987) 2986, D 24, pl. 12, 5; Babelon (1897) no. 242, pl. XXV; Mikocki (1988) no. 157

descr: female bust, wreathed, in r. profile. Bulla on the neck. The wreath consists of grain-ears and poppy heads; l. hand is raised and holds a fold of her peplos.

103. *Cameo*
(fig.) sardonyx
dim: 80 x 67 mm
loc: Cabinet des Médailles B. Nat., Paris, no. 243
prov: Rome
date: 19 AD
bibl: Babelon (1897); Mobius (1985) 46; Megow (1987) 296, D 23, pl. 12.3; Mikocki (1988) no. 155, pl. IV

descr: Bust of Livilla l., wreathed with grain-ears and poppies which disappear in a large hair - knot at the nape of her neck. Two strands of hair fall onto the shoulders behind the ears. Bulla on the neck; r. hand raised, holding a fold of cloak. Twin infants in silhouette in the fold of the dress.

104. *Cameo*
(fig.) sardonyx
dim: 76 mm x 60 mm
loc: Staatliche Museen Berlin - Antikensammlung (Charlottenburg) no.11096
prov: Rome
date: 19AD
bibl: Mobius (1985) 46; Megow (1987) 295ff., D 22, pl. 12, 7; Mikocki (1988) no. 154, pl. IV

descr: Bust of Livilla l. Head wreathed with ears of grain and poppies (the "flat" type of wreath), tied with a beaded fillet at the back (or the fillet which probably was following the line of the wreath (under it), is tied at the back and is hanging there. (The same type of a tie with the fillet" is on a statue of Livia as Demeter/Tyche in Leptis Magna.). In the l., half-raised hand Livilla holds a fold of her cloak, two children are in it, one holding a cornucopia, the other a snake.

LIVILLA ?, LIVIA ? - as CERES/PAX/FELICITAS

105. *Cameo*
(fig.) onyx
dim: 95 mm x 78 mm
loc: Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen
prov: Rome or Alexandria
date: Tiberian
bibl: Megow (1987) 298ff., D29, pl. 12, 1.2.4; Mobius (1985) 63; Mobius (1964) 27, pl. VI, 4

descr: a woman standing, leaning with her r. elbow on a high pillar. The head shown in r. profile, the upper part of the body in three quarters. The woman is dressed in a long chiton and a himation with her r. shoulder exposed. She is holding a cornucopia filled with grapes and pomegranates and a lotus flower in her l. hand, and a caduceus in her r. Her head is wreathed with ears of grain and olive leaves. She wears a bulla on her neck and earrings.

LIVILLA ? ANTONIA MINOR?

106. *Cameo*
sardonyx
dim: 71 mm x 51 mm
loc: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 11
prov: Rome ?
date: ca. 20 AD
bibl: Babelon (1897) no. 11, pl. II; Megow (1987) 291, D 11, pl. 18, 10
descr: Bust of a woman (usually considered to be Juno: by Babelon, Hera by

Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, 3 (1889; reprint, 1968), 107, pl. I.1) with features of either Livilla or Antonia Minor. She is turned r., dressed in peplos and chiton; bulla on neck. The high diadem of even width throughout is decorated with palmettes and rosettes. The woman has long hair with a lock above the brow and a double long strand of hair slipping down the neck behind the ears.

AGRIPPINA MINOR

Coins

107. *Aureus of Claudius*
(fig.) mint: Rome
date: 50–54 AD
bibl: *RIC* I^2, p. 126 no. 80
obv: head of Claudius in laurel wreath, r.; TI CLAVD CAES AVG GERM PM TR POT PP
rev: draped bust of Agrippina turned r., wearing wreath of grain-ears, her hair in long plait behind; AGRIPPINAE AVGVSTAE
Denarius (with the same type of obverse and reverse): *RIC* I, p. 126 no. 81, pl. 16.

108. *Denarius of Claudius*
mint: Rome
date: 50–54 AD
bibl: *RIC* I^2 p. 125 no. 75, pl. 15
obv: draped bust of Agrippina r., wearing wreath of grain-ears, hair in long plait behind; AGRIPPINAE AVGVSTAE
rev: draped bust of Nero, bare-headed, l.; NERO CLAVD CAES DRVSVS GERM PRINC IVVENT

109. *Coin of Nero and Agrippina*
(fig.) prov: Cymae (Kyme), Aeolis
date: 54–59 AD
bibl: *RPC* 2434
obv: head of Nero in laurel wreath r.; ΘΕΟΝ ΝΕΡΩΝΑ ΚΥΜΑΙΟΝ
rev: bust of Agrippina, veiled and wreathed with grain-ears; ΘΕΑΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ

110. *Coin of Agrippina Minor*
(fig.) prov: Acmonea, Asia
date: 55 AD
bibl: *BMC Phrygia*, 9 no. 35-36, pl. III, 2; *RPC* 3172; *Syll. Kopenhagen*, Phrygia no. 24; Robert, *REA*, 62 (1960) 292, no. 4
obv: draped bust of Agrippina r. Two grain-ears and a poppy in front. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ
rev: Artemis pulling an arrow from her quiver. Small figure of Nike with palm and wreath in front; ΕΠΙ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΣΕΡΟΥΗΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΠΙΤΟΝΟΣ ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ

111. *Coin of Nero and Agrippina Minor*
(fig.) prov: Magnesia ad Sipylum, Lydia
date: 54-59 AD
bibl: *BMC Lydia*, 146, no. 53-55, pl. XVI, 4; *RPC* 2457
obv: two joined busts of Nero and Agrippina; ΝΕΡΩΝΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ.
rev: Agrippina is Demeter standing with grain-ears in her r. hand and a sceptre in her l. Nero stands behind crowning her with his r. hand and holding a short sceptre in his l.; ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

112. *Coin of Claudius and Agrippina Minor*
(fig.) prov: (probably) Ephesus, Ionia
date: 49-50 AD
bibl: *RPC* 2621
obv: wreathed heads of Claudius and Agrippina joined, turned l. Agrippina's wreath (only its upper part is visible) is made of grain-ears; TI CLAVD CAES AVG AGRIPP AVGVSTA
rev: cult figure of Ephesian Diana, standing front, wearing high polos, with beaded fillets hanging from her outstretched hands; DIANA EPHESIA

113. *Coin of Agrippina Minor*
prov: Alexandria
date: 51/2 AD
bibl: *BMC Alexandria*, 14 no. 108-111, pl. XXII; *RPC* 5188; M.-O. Jentel, *Euthenia, Corpus des monuments et étude iconographique* (Quebec, 1993) p. 58, no. 129
obv: bust of Agrippina Minor r., wreath of grain-ears on head; ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑ(ΣΤΗ)
rev: bust of Euthenia wearing a wreath of grain-ears; ΕΥΤΗΕΝΙΑ ΛΙΒ

Sculpture

114. *Marble relief panel*
(fig.) Agrippina Minor and Claudius
prov: Aphrodisias, Sebasteion, south portico
date: Claudian/Neronian
bibl: Smith (1987) p. 106ff., no. 3; Kleiner, p. 158 ff.

descr: the panel presents Agrippina, (on the l.) Claudius (in the middle) and Populus Romanus/Senatus (on the r.). Agrippina Minor, dressed in chiton and himation is shown standing l., holding Claudius' extended hand (*dextrarum iunctio*). In her l. hand, raised toward her face, she is holding a bunch of four ears of grain.

115. *Marble relief panel*
(fig.) Agrippina Minor and Nero
height: 172 cm
prov: Aphrodisias, Sebasteion, south portico
date: 54 AD (taken down and reused as a floor slab probably in 68 AD)
bibl: Smith (1987) p. 129ff.

descr: Agrippina Minor crowning Nero (dressed in a military dress) with a laurel wreath. Agrippina (larger than Nero) is dressed in a thin chiton belted under the breasts and a himation. She wears a diadem decorated with a vegetal (leaf) motif and carries a large cornucopia in her l. hand. The cornucopia contains a central pomegranate, two apples (or poppies), a bunch of grapes (spilling from the horn) and a vine leaf. The triangular sacrificial cake between the fruit in the middle is broken off.

Cameos

AGRIPPINA MINOR (OR MESSALINA) AND CLAUDIUS

116. *Sardonyx cameo*
(fig.) dim: 1.22 cm
loc: Cabinet des Médailles, BN Paris no. 276
prov: Rome ?
date: ca. 48-54 AD

bibl: Babelon (1897), no. 276, pl.30; Bernulli (1886) 195a, 234, 244, 341d; Furtwängler (1900) 320; Simon (1957) 61 no. 4, pl. 31,1; Mobius (1985) 68; Schwartz (1987) 172ff.; Megow (1987) 207ff., A 86, pl. 27, 3

descr: Triptolemos and Ceres riding a snake chariot r. Ceres dressed in chiton and peplos, arms bare, inclines forward. She is holding a bunch of ears of grain and poppy heads in her l. hand and a *volumen* (as *Legifera?)* in her r. Coiffure of three rows of locks above the brow and a long plait behind. Emperor/Triptolemos, dressed in armour and paludamentum is standing behind her, reaching with his r. hand into the fold of the paludamentum upheld by his l. hand.

117. *Sardonyx cameo*
dim: 23 mm x 3 mm
loc: Hermitage, St. Petersburg inv no.: G 296
prov. Rome ?
date: 48-54 AD

bibl: O. Neverov, *Cameos* (1972) no. 55; Alföldi (1979) 584, pl. 36,5; Simon (1957) 56-64; Schwartz (1987) 173ff.; Mikocki (1988) no. 192; E. La Rocca, *L'età d'oro di Cleopatra: indagine sulla tazza Farneze* (1984) 69ff., fig. 61

descr: Demeter and Triptolemos are standing in a chariot pulled by the winged snakes. Demeter, veiled and dressed in chiton (the visible r. arm is bare) is standing slightly behind Triptolemos but her figure is closer to the viewer. Triptolemos is dressed in a billowing paludamentum and seems to be driving the chariot.

AGRIPPINA MINOR AND NERO

118. *Sardonyx vase* (alabastron)
(fig.) height: 153mm
loc: Brunswick, Herzog Anton-Urlich Museum
date: 54 AD ?

bibl: Furtwängler (1900) 339 fig. 185-188; Simon (1957) 57, fig. 5 pl. 29; Schwartz (1987) 173ff.; *LIMC*, s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 138

descr: Ceres and Triptolemos in a biga of snakes. Ceres is standing at the back of the biga, veiled, possibly wreathed (2 ears of grain?), wearing long chiton and holding a bunch of ears of grain with one poppy head in it. Triptolemos is standing in front of the biga, with reins in both hands. Flying above and before them is a winged female figure of the same size as Triptolemos and Ceres. Dressed in chiton and himation she is holding out a fold of of the himation in her outstretched hands. In front of the snakes, facing them, Tellus is reclining, supported on a hamper. There are other figures on the other side of the vase. One of the figures on the side B of the vase is *dea Syria*, the goddess whom Nero worshipped. Her presence confirms the identity of both Nero and his mother.

119. *Sardonyx cameo*
dim: 0.025 mm x 0.017 mm
loc: Paris, Bibl. Nat. no. 282
prov: Rome
date: 55-59 AD

bibl: Babelon (1897) p. 148, no. 282; Mikocki (1988) no. 194, p. V

desc: bust of Agrippina Minor draped in *stola* and *palla* turned r. She wears a laurel wreath tied with a beaded fillet, and in her l. raised hand she holds a bunch of poppy heads and a grain-ear.

120. *Sardonyx cameo*
(fig.) dim: 0.83 mm
loc: Hermitage, St. Petersburg
date: early Tiberian or Claudian, reworded in third century AD and during the Renaissance
bibl: Megow (1987), 167f., A 22, pl. 10.13; Mikocki (1988) no. 195, including full bibl.
desc: bust of Agrippina Minor (Mikocki) or Livia (Megow) on the r. facing the bust of Claudius (Mikocki) or Augustus (Megow). Bust of a boy, Nero or Tiberius, between them and slightly above. The emperor is wearing a *corona radiata* set upon an olive wreath; the back of his head is veiled. The emperess is wearing a wreath of olive leaves, grain-ears, poppies, and a veil.

121. *Jupiter cameo*
(fig.) dim: 0.084 mm x 0.064 mm
loc: Cologne Cathedral (Dreikonigsschrein)
date: Julio-Claudian
bibl: Megow (1987), 213ff., A 98, pl. 35.1.2; Mikocki (1988) no. 200 with bibl.
desc: Nero as Jupiter enthroned l. with wreath on his head and sceptre in his r. hand, and *lituus* (?) in his l. A large star is depicted above his head. Facing him stands Agrippina dressed in a *stola* and a *palla*, wreathed with laurel/grain-ears (Mikocki sees grain-ears), topped with lotus flower. She holds a wreath in her r. and a cornucopia in her l.

122. *Gemma Claudia*
(fig.) Sardonyx cameo
dim: 0.12 mm x 0.152 mm
loc: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
prov: Rome
date: 48-49 AD
bibl: (selected): Mobius (1964) 28, pl. VII.2; Richter (1971), no. 516; Megow (1987) 200ff, A 81, pl. 31, 32.1; Mikocki (1988) no. 201
descr: Two pairs of busts growing out from two double cornucopiae filled with fruit and ears of grain. On the l. Claudius as Jupiter (with aegis) and a laurel wreath, with Agrippina who is wearing a corona muralis with the grain-ear and a poppy wreath underneath. On the r. Germanicus in an oak wreath and Agrippina Major in an olive wreath and a helmet as Minerva. There is an eagle between the cornucopiae. In each cornucopia there is an apple, a poppy and a pomegranate, grain-ears, and grapes. There is the motif of a vine with rosettes on the body of the cornucopia.

MESSALINA

123. *Statue of Messalina (or Drusilla) as Kore (Albani)*
(fig.) loc: Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9952
prov: theatre in Caere
date: between ca. 37 and 48 AD (?)
bibl: Wood (1995) 457-82, esp. p. 481
descr: Messalina (or Drusilla) standing, wearing chiton and himation. Forearms and hands missing. Beaded fillet on head. Identification as Kore based on the type of drapery and stance of the statue.

124. *Coin of Claudius*
(fig.) mint: Alexandria
date: 41-46 AD
bibl: Trillmich (1978) 157 ff, no. 588, pl. 15.15
rev: Messalina standing, holding two grain ears in her l. hand (which rests on a column) and two children (Britannicus and Octavia) in her outstretched r. hand.

CLAUDIA OCTAVIA (DAUGHTER OF CLAUDIUS AND MESSALINA)

125. *Didrachm of CLAUDIA OCTAVIA*
(fig.) mint: Caesarea in Cappadocia
undated: (Claudius ?)
bibl: *RIC* p. 132, no. 124, pl. 17; *RPC* 3627
obv: Bust of Messalina, draped r., two hair-curls down neck, plait behind; MESSALINA AVGVSTA
rev: (on l.) OCTAVIA, above (BRITANNICVS), (on r.) ANTONIA. Britannicus, head l. standing between Octavia on l., hand r. clasping hands with him, and Antonia, head l., on his r. Antonia is holding a cornucopia in her l. hand.

126. *Coin*
(fig.) mint: Sardis (Caesarea) in Lydia
date: ca. 60 AD
bibl: *BMC Lydia*, 254, no. 125; E. Babelon, *Coll. Waddington* (1898) no. 5243-5; Mikocki (1988) no. 229 pl. 5. *RPC* 2999
obv: draped bust of Claudia Octavia in wreath of grain-ears tied with a beaded fillet (or a string of pearls) ΘΕΑΝ ΟΚΤΑΟΥΙΑΝ
rev: Demeter/Ceres in the chariot of snakes, holding the torches in both hands.

POPPAEA SABINA

127. *Coin of Nero*
(fig.) mint: Iconium, Lycaonia
date: 62-65 AD
RPC 3544.
bibl: Mikocki (1988) no. 233, pl. 8, incl. bibl.
obv: laureate head of Nero r., ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ
rev: Poppaea enthroned and holding a poppy and a sceptre in her l. hand; ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ(Σ) ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΚΛΑΥΔΣΙΚΟΝΙΣΩΝ

There was a cult of Demeter Achaia at Iconium (*CIG* 4000, Farnell, no. 60 p. 324 and p. 70, probably " the sorrowing one").

128. *Coin*
(fig.) mint: Acmonea in Phrygia
date: 64 AD
bibl: *BMC Phrygia*, 11 no. 48-50 pl. III, 5; *RPC* 3175; Mikocki (1988) no. 237
obv: bust of Poppaea turned l., wreathed in grain-ears, her back covered with the lion-skin; ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ
rev: Artemis r., drawing an arrow and holding a bow; before small figure of Nike with palm and wreath; ΣΕΡΟΥΗΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΠΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΑΣ ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ

APPENDIX FOUR

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE CATALOGUE

Cat. no. 2	*Bust of Ceres* from Arricia, mid-second century BC.
Cat. no. 4	*Head of Ceres* (colossal) in Zurich.
Cat. no. 5	*Bust of Ceres Mystica* (cameo).
Cat. no. 9	*Denarius* of L. Cassius Caeicianus, 102 BC (Bust of Ceres).
Cat. no. 10	*Triens* of Q. Titius, 90 BC (Ceres walking with torches).
Cat. no. 11	*Denarius* of C. Vibius C.F. Pansa, 90 BC (Ceres walking with torches).
Cat. no. 12	*Denarius* of M. Fannius L. Critonius Aed., 86 BC (Bust of Ceres).
Cat. no. 13	*Denarius* of C. Marius Capito, 81 BC (Bust of Ceres).
Cat. no. 14	*Denarius* of M. Volteius M.F, 78 BC (Ceres in a biga of snakes).
Cat. no. 17	*Denarius* of L. Furius Brocchus, 63 BC (Head of Ceres).
Cat. no. 18	*Denarius* of C. Memmius C.F, 56 BC (Contemporary head of Ceres).
Cat. no. 19	*Denarius* of C. Memmius, 56 BC (Ceres seated, long hair, torch, snake).
Cat. no. 20	*Denarius* of C. Vibius Pansa, 48 BC (Ceres walking with torches, plough).
Cat. no. 21	*Denarius* of Julius Caesar, 46 BC (Head of Ceres, "Isiac" wreath).
Cat. no. 23	*Aureus* of L. Mussidius Longus, 42 BC (Head of Ceres, long hair, "Sicilian" wreath.
Cat. no. 24	(as above)
Cat. no. 25	*Sardonyx cameo,* Paris (Bust of Ceres, wreathed and veiled).

Cat. no. 28	*Architectural terracotta*, Copenhagen, Augustan (Head of Ceres growing out of a floral scroll; *calathos*, beaded fillet).
Cat. no. 29	*Architectural terracotta*, Copenhagen, first century AD (Bust of Ceres facing, snakes twined around her arms; bunches of poppies and grain-ears.
Cat. no. 34	*Wall painting*, Pompeii, Casa del Navaglio, reign of Nero (Ceres enthroned, torch, basket with grain).
Cat. no. 36	*Wall painting* Pompeii, House of the Dioscouroi, reign of Nero (Ceres *nimeata*).
Cat. no. 37	*Relief from a rectangular base*, Corinth, first century AD (Archaizing Demeter; bunch of poppies and grain-ears *calathos*).
Cat. no. 39	*Terracotta relief*, in Copenhagen, Augustan (Mystic Ceres with torch and *calathos*/snake).
Cat. no. 41	*Campanian terracotta relief*, before reign of Claudius (Initiation scene [Heracles?], with Ceres)
Cat. no. 42	*Lovatelli urn*, early Imperial (Initiation scene [Heracles?], with Ceres).
Cat. no. 43	*Terranova Sarcophagus*, 145 AD (Ceres in an initiation scene).
Cat. no. 44	*Dupondius* of Claudius, 41 AD (Ceres enthroned/Ceres Augusta, torch, two grain-ears).
Cat. no. 45	*Aureus* of Nero, 60/61 AD (Ceres, standing, torch, two grain-ears and a poppy).
Cat. no. 46	*Sestertius* of Nero, 62–68 AD (Ceres and Annona).
Cat. no. 54	*Dupondius AE*, Italica, Hispania (Beatica), Tiberian
Cat. no. 56	*Dupondius* of Claudius, 41–ca. 50 AD (Livia as seated Ceres - *DIVA AUGUSTA*).
Cat. no. 57	*Dupondius*, Emerita, Lusitania, Tiberian
Cat. no. 58	*As*, Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna, Africa, 23 AD
Cat. no. 59	*AE coin*, Thapsus, Byzacene, Tiberian
Cat. no. 60	*Semis*, Panormos, Sicily, Tiberian

Cat. no. 63	*AE coin*, Thessalonica, 14-22 AD
Cat. no. 67	*Head of Livia*, Capitoline Museum, late Tiberian/early Claudian.
Cat. no. 71	*Head of Livia*, Hermitage, 25-50 AD.
Cat. no. 72	*Head of Livia*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, after 14 AD.
Cat. no. 73	*Marble statue of Livia*, Louvre (Claudian copy of an Augustan original?).
Cat. no. 75	*Statue of Livia*, from Leptis Magna, 30s of the first century AD.
Cat. no. 76	*Statue of seated Livia*, from Baene, Augustan.
Cat. no. 78	*Statue of Livia/Fortuna/Tyche/Ceres*(?), Louvre, Tiberian.
Cat. no. 79	*Onyx cameo*, Florence, 14-22/23 BC (two busts, Tiberius and Livia).
Cat. no. 80	*Onyx cameo*, Florence, ca. 20 AD (Head of Livia, veiled and wreathed).
Cat. no. 83	*Onyx cameo*, sardonyx, damaged (two busts, Livia and ?).
Cat. no. 84	*Grand Camée de France*, 17/19 or 25 AD or 51 AD.
Cat. no. 85	*Sardonyx cameo*, Vienna, soon after 14 AD (14-29 AD) (Livia or Antonia Minor with the bust of Augustus).
Cat. no. 88	*Aureus*, 41-45 AD (Bust of Antonia Minor, two torches).
Cat. no. 89	*Aureus/denarius*, 41-45 AD (Bust of Antonia, wreathed, rev. Constantia).
Cat. no. 96	*Coin* of Gaius, Philadelphiae (Neocaesarea), Lydia.
Cat. no. 97	*Coin* of Gaius, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Lydia.
Cat. no. 98	*Sardonyx cameo*, Claudian (?) (two female busts, one laureate [or olive wreath], the other diademated; Agrippina Major and Minor?).
Cat. no. 100	*Cameo* of Drusilla and Drusus Major, reign of Gaius.
Cat. no. 101	*Sardonyx cameo*, 12-2 BC (Bust of Julia Augusti or Livilla).

Cat. no. 102	*Sardonyx cameo*, Paris, ca. 20 AD (Livilla holding a fold of her peplos).
Cat. no. 103	*Sardonyx cameo*, Paris, 19 AD (Bust of Livilla with two infants in a fold of her dress).
Cat. no. 104	*Sardonyx cameo*, Berlin, 19 AD (as above but with snake and cornucopia in infants' hands).
Cat. no. 105	*Onyx cameo*, from Alexandria, Tiberian (Livilla leaning on a column).
Cat. no. 107	*Aureus of Claudius*, 50-54 AD (Agrippina Avgvsta).
Cat. no. 109	*AE coin* of Nero and Agrippina Minor, 54-59 AD, Cymae, Aeolis.
Cat. no. 110	*AE coin* of Agrippina Minor, 55 AD, Acmonea, Asia.
Cat. no. 111	*AE coin* of Nero and Agrippina Minor, 54-59 AD, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Lydia.
Cat. no. 112	*AE coin* of Claudius and Agrippina Minor, 49-50 AD, Ephesus, Ionia.
Cat. no. 114	*Relief from Sebasteion*, Aphrodisias, *dextrarium iunctio* (Claudius and Agrippina).
Cat. no. 115	*Relief from Sebasteion*, 54 AD (Agrippina crowning Nero).
Cat. no. 116	*Onyx cameo*, Paris, ca. 48-54 AD (Agrippina/Messalina and Claudius as Triptolemos).
Cat. no. 118	*Onyx vase*, Brunswick, Herzog Anton-Urlich Museum (motif as above, Agrippina and Nero).
Cat. no. 120	*Sardonyx cameo*, Hermitage, early Tiberian or Claudian (Agrippina Minor or Livia facing Claudius or Augustus, Nero or Tiberius as a boy between them).
Cat. no. 121	*Jupiter cameo*, Cologne.
Cat. no. 122	*Gemma Claudia* (Claudius and Agrippina Minor facing Germanicus and Agrippina Major).
Cat. no. 123	*Statue* of Messalina or Drusilla as Kore, Vatican.
Cat. no. 124	*Coin of Claudius*, Alexandria, 41-46 AD.

Cat. no. 125	*Didrachm* of Claudia Octavia, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Claudian (?).
Cat. no. 126	*AE coin* of Claudia Octavia, ca. 60 AD, Sardis (Caesarea) in Lydia.
Cat. no. 127	*AE coin* of Nero, 62-65 AD, (for Poppaea Sabina), Iconium, Lycaonia.
Cat. no. 128	*AE coin*, 64 AD, Acmonea in Phrygia (bust of Poppaea).

Pages 247-85 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The information removed was Figures 2-128. The Figure information and sources are listed in the Catalogue (Appendix Three).

APPENDIX FIVE

GREEK, HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN COMPARANDA

(C=Comparanda)

1-C	Enthroned goddess from Grammichele, ca. 470 BC; Langlotz, no. 39
2-C	Head of the goddess from Agrigentum, ca. 500 BC; Langlotz, no. 44
3-C–4-C	Colossal head of the goddess (cult image), after 480 BC; Langlotz, nos. 62 and 63
5-C	Incuse coin from Metapontum, 530–510 BC
6-C	Stater of Metapontum, 330–300 BC
7-C	Hellenistic Greek coin; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 186
8-C	(as above) no. 168
9-C	(as above) no. 165
10-C	(as above) Stater of Messenia, 369–338 BC
11-C	Terracotta votive plaque from Locri, ca. 470 BC; Langlotz no. 72
12-C	(as above) - girl picking pomegranates, ca. 460–450 BC; Langlotz, no. 71
13-C	Coin of Croton - ear of barley and Apollo's tripod, 420–390 BC
14-C	Stater of Croton - Apollo, tripod decorated with beaded fillet
15-C	Apulian amphora in Naples - scene from the Underworld: a nymph on *ketos*; Bianchi, no. 71
16-C	Apulian amphora from Ruvo - Hecate or a Fury holding a torch with a beaded fillet; Bianchi
17-C	Apulian vase - Demeter and Helios in a chariot in a ship (sailing down Oceanus); *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 459
18-C	Apulian vase - Hades abducting Kore; Demeter follows with a cross-torch tied with a beaded fillet; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 312

19-C	Apulian vase - Mission of Triptolemos; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 373
20-C	Great Altar, Pergamon, North Frieze - Demeter wearing a beaded fillet; Schmidt (1961)
21-C	Silver plate from Aquilea, ca. mid-first century BC; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter"
22-C	Tazza Farnese, Naples, ca 50 BC (?); La Rocca (1984)
23-C	Ninion tablet, Eleusis, ca. fourth century BC; Bianchi no. 35
24-C	Symbols of the Eleusinian cult; Bianchi no. 41
25-C	Caryatid from the inside of the Lesser Propylaea, ca. 50 BC; C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968)
26-C	The entablature from the Lesser Propylaea, ca. 50 BC; Mylonas (1961), fig. 57
27-C	Grand Relief from Eleusis; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 375
28-C	Demeter from Knidos, ca. fourth century BC; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter"
29-C	Corinthian vase; *LIMC*, s.v. "Demeter," no. 121
30-C	Reconstruction (by Castriota) of an altar from the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon; Castriota (1995)
31-C	Relief slab from the altar (as above, no. 30-C); Castriota (1995)
32-C	Edge of the marble slab with a flaming torch, two poppies at the base of the torch, two grain-ears at the top, rosettes in vertical rows of four on both sides; Castriota (1995)
33-C	Grave relief of a priestess of Demeter in Smyrna, mid-second century BC; Smith (1991) fig. 220
34-C–37-C	Decoration of the votive and funeral circular altars - swags, *dikeras*, beaded fillets, rosettes and grain-ears; Fraser, *Rhodian Monuments*
38-C–41-C	Ara Pacis, panel with Pax/Ceres; Spaeth (1996)
42-C	Bust of Augustus as Triptolemos, Vatican Museum, inv. 715; Spaeth (1994)

43-C	Ossuarium from the tomb of the Platorii, Rome, first century AD; W. Altmann
44-C	Caferelli sarcophagus, swag; Altmann
45-C	Fragment from the marble frieze from Emerita, first century AD; Altmann
46-C	Funerary altar of Memmius Januarius; Altmann
47-C	Funerary altar of Annia Cassia; Altmann, fig. 152a
48-C	Cistophori of Augustus - Ephesus; Sutherland (1970)
49-C	Cistophori of Augustus - Pergamon; Sutherland (1970)
50-C	Tomb of the Haterii; Strong (1961)
51-C	Tomb of the Haterii, relief with the Mystery Gods; Strong (1961)
52-C	Ceiling stucco - Rape of Ganymede, Rome, Basilica Sotterranea; O. J. Brendel, "The Visible Idea: Interpretations of Classical Art." In *Art History Series* 2 (Washington, 1980)
53-C	Statuette - Heracles with the Apples of the Hesperides; *LIMC*, s.v. "Heracles," no. 374
54-C	Cameo - Apotheosis of Claudius (holding a cornucopia); Megow (1987) pl. 27, 1, A 80
55-C	Cameo - Sea Thiasos; Tiberius (or Augustus) taken to the Islands of the Blessed; Megow (1987)
56-C	Cameo - Augustus riding a sea-creature; Megow (1987)
57-C	Sarcophagus with the motif of the Abduction of Persephone, second century BC; *LIMC*
58-C	Tellus of the Prima Porta statue of Augustus; Gross (1986)

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